

**JOE KLEIN: HOW CONSULTANTS RUINED POLITICS**

**FLIGHT 93:  
THE MOVIE**  
EXCLUSIVE FIRST LOOK

**SPECIAL REPORT**

# DROPOUT NATION

**30%** of America's  
high school students  
will leave without  
graduating. Here is  
what one town tells  
us about the crisis

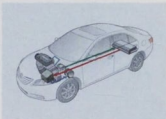
**BY NATHAN THORNBURGH**

Christine Harden, 18,  
of Shelbyville, Ind.

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
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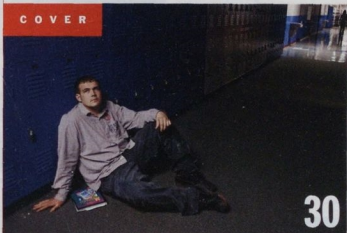
**Cover:** Photograph for TIME by Steve Liss. **INSET:** Photograph by Jonathan Olley—Universal



**48**

The body of Andrew Kissel being removed from his Greenwich, Conn., home

## COVER



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No Child Left Behind? No way. New research into America's high schools reveals a shocking statistic: 1 in 3 students doesn't graduate, and there aren't enough blue-collar jobs to save them from poverty. An inside look at what's causing the dropout epidemic—and how it can be stopped

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It crawled from the deep—the "fishapod" fossil



*United 93*, the beginning of 9/11 at the multiplex



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## Ask Joe



In our excerpt from his book about political consultants, Joe Klein recalls Bobby Kennedy's extraordinary

speech after the death of Martin Luther King Jr. You can hear that speech—as well as an audio excerpt from the book, read by the author—on [time.com](http://time.com). And, as always, ask Klein your own questions at [time.com/askjoe](http://time.com/askjoe)



JOE KLEIN FOR TIME

### DAILY DISH

What happens when bloggers go on vacation? While Andrew Sullivan takes a break for 10 days starting this Thursday, two TIME contributors, essayists Michelle Cottle and Walter Kirn, will fill in for him at [time.com/dailydish](http://time.com/dailydish)



MICHELLE COTTE AND WALTER KIRN FOR TIME

**OLMERT AND TIME**  
Israel's new Prime Minister, Ehud Olmert, sat down for an interview with TIME assistant managing editor Romesh Ratnesar for his story this week. Read a full transcript of the interview at [time.com/olmert](http://time.com/olmert)



EHUD OLMERT FOR TIME



PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR TIME



### VOICES OF IRAQ TODAY

## Coping, Three Years Later

As violence in Iraq dominates the headlines, [time.com](http://time.com) continues its effort to cover the lives of ordinary Iraqis. This week you can hear five Iraqis, interviewed by TIME senior correspondent Aparisim Ghosh, talk about life in the besieged country three years after the fall of Saddam Hussein, at [time.com/iraqvoices](http://time.com/iraqvoices)



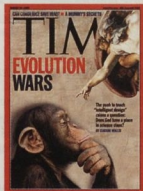
### MISSING LINKS

The discovery of a 375 million-year-old "fishapod" made big news last week. For a photo gallery of other fossil finds that have filled in evolutionary gaps, go to [time.com/fossils](http://time.com/fossils)

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR TIME

### THE ARCHIVE

## Search TIME 1923-2006



Despite new discoveries of old fossils, the debate over Darwin's theory of evolution continues. TIME reported on the battle over "intelligent design" last August.

Subscribers get **FREE** access to the entire **TIME** archive at [timearchive.com](http://timearchive.com)

### TIME ON TV

Tune in to Anderson Cooper 360° on CNN, where TIME journalists often appear. He'll have a special report on high school dropouts this week (10 p.m. E.T., Monday through Friday).



## Dropout Nation

For more about the dropout crisis, read on [time.com](http://time.com) about the German model for vocational education and concerns about the GED high school equivalency test. And in conjunction with our cover story, *The Oprah Winfrey Show* airs a two-part special report, "America's Schools in Crisis," on Tuesday and Wednesday.



*The Oprah Winfrey Show*

Oprah talks to Bill and Melinda Gates about the problems in U.S. high schools

OPRAH WINFREY FOR TIME



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# 10 QUESTIONS FOR Prince Andrew

**Q**ueen Elizabeth II turns 80 on April 21. In her 54 years on the throne, Her Majesty has presided over the emergence of a diverse and modern Britain, seen her family become tabloid fodder and declined all interview requests. Her third child, Prince Andrew, 46, a former Royal Navy pilot, sat with *TIME*'s Catherine Mayer and J.F.O. McAllister at Buckingham Palace to discuss his mother's job, her love of horses and the time a footman pulled a chair out from under her.

**How would you describe your mother's job?** Is it a job, a role, a life, a vocation? It's all of those things. It's impossible to describe, but it's almost a responsibility for all the people of the United Kingdom, regardless of race, color or creed, and an understanding that you have an individual connection with each and every one.

**How do you explain her continuing popularity?** It's slightly complicated for people to grasp the idea of a head of state in human form, but I would put her appeal down to consistency. In their eyes, she has never let them down. There's a sameness, but at the same time a vitality.

**One of her advisers says that in modernizing the monarchy to keep it appealing to the public, her goal is "imperceptible change." It's not a goal, it's a way of life. This is a forward-looking organization. It's the nature of this business. For example, when the question arose whether I as a member of the royal family should take part in active combat in the Falklands, there was no question in her mind, though there was in other people's, and it only took her two days to sort the issue.**

**What kind of manager is she?** The Queen's intelligence

GEORGE SWANEY



network is a hell of a lot better than anyone's in this palace. Bar none. She knows everything. Everything. I don't know how she does it. And she sees everything.

**Does she enjoy her work?** People say to me, "Would you like to swap your life with me for 24 hours? Your life must be very strange." But of course I have not experienced any other life. It's not strange to me. The same way with the

Queen. She has never experienced anything else. That life, that knowledge, that wisdom is purely natural to her.

**Are you trying to get her to slow down?** She is incredibly fit. But we remind staff that she's not just the monarch but our mother. There's no need to do six engagements in a day. You can achieve the same amount of connection and consistency at a different pace.

**What does she most enjoy doing off duty?** She manages her racehorses and the breeding program. Her knowledge is just astronomic. She has a genealogical brain. Sarah [Ferguson, Andrew's former wife] will talk to me about someone and I don't know who she's talking about, but if she talks to my mother, the two of them will know exactly—and across several generations too.

**Does the Queen like the country Britain has become?**

You, I, we all encounter behaviors that we might say, "I wouldn't do that," or "I don't understand why people do that." But she has a huge amount of contact with how people live. She sees more hospices and sink estates [blighted housing projects] than most people. And on something like drugs, she will know someone who has been affected. But whether she likes or dislikes is immaterial.

**What does she want for her legacy?** I don't think she thinks like that. You're conceptualizing it too much in American presidential terms. She isn't legacy focused—she's future focused. Today is reality. Yesterday is history. Her desire is not to change the future but to be there today.

**Her friends say she is very funny.** At a family dinner, she stood to go, and the footman very properly pulled her chair away. At that moment I asked her a question and she sat down again, except there was no chair. Everyone, including the Queen, laughed and laughed—and of course she reassured the terrified footman he had done nothing wrong. Once when she was on a walkabout in Scotland, someone said to her, "You look just like the Queen!" She replied, "How reassuring." ■



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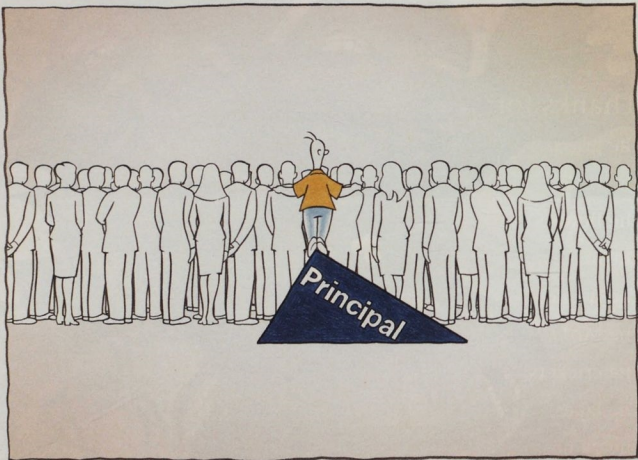
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# The Kids Are All Wired

Our peek over the shoulders and into the minds of the multitasking generation connected with e-mailing, IMing, Web-surfing youth who defended their do-it-all-at-once lifestyle as the new norm. But some readers cautioned that kids need to unplug once in a while to preserve their humanity

TIME'S REPORT ON MY GENERATION'S multitasking [March 27] hit the nail on the head. I can get so absorbed in Facebook, e-mail, TV and iTunes that when I'm home from college, I forget I have a family downstairs. By the way, I turned off my TV and shut down my computer in the middle of reading your article, and I will be mailing it home for the rest of my family to read.

ANDREW MCCORMACK  
Woodbridge, Va.

IT'S ALWAYS A LITTLE FUNNY TO READ what adults are saying about us kids. I'm a 17-year-old who does not own an iPod, has been on MySpace.com only once and has to be reminded by my mother to bring my cell phone anywhere. Who IMs their friends before school to ask what they're wearing? Maybe my friends and I are way behind the times, but we prefer to hit the snooze button in the morning and handle technology after 3 p.m. Then again, I realized I was reading your article while waiting for my e-mail to load, downloading homework assignments and renewing my library books online. At least I read the whole article.

MICHELLE QUACH  
Anaheim, Calif.

YOUR STORY WAS RIGHT ON TARGET. WHILE reading it I was listening to music on my computer, checking my e-mail, befriending people on Facebook and trying to decide how long it would take me to get to my next class—all with complete comprehension of what I was reading. Our generation's ability to multitask should be looked upon as a gift, not a weakness that inhibits achievement.

MATT REDMON  
College Station, Texas

MY CHILDREN ARE AS ADEPT AS THE REST of their cohort at multitasking, and they persuaded me, reluctantly, to IM them while they were away at college. But even among this wired generation there are dissenters who actively crave unplugged quiet time. Our daughter left



**“Our generation’s ability to multitask should be looked upon as a gift, not a weakness that inhibits achievement.”**

MATT REDMON  
College Station, Texas

her cell phone at home when she went to college, hasn't had one for the past two years and has no interest in having an iPod. Her favorite version of multitasking? Knitting while reading a 19th century novel.

MERRI ROSENBERG  
Ardley, N.Y.

I HAVE AN IPOD AND A MYSPACE ACCOUNT, I chat online, and I can play online games for two hours without realizing it. But my mother and I have a very good relationship because, when she comes to talk to me, I disconnect myself and listen. When she comes home, I leave my room to hug her and say hello. And I am grateful that my mom sets rules and curfews

and disciplines me the way she does. Parents may hate it when they have to discipline their children, but rules really do help in the long run. Parents need to act more like parents and not buddy up so much to their kids. Sometimes it is good to be a crazy old fogey.

RACHEL POINTER  
Tempe, Ariz.

YOUR ARTICLE ON MULTITASKING TEENAGERS was fascinating. Although I sometimes sit down and just read for several hours, I find that I write better papers and do better work when I am juggling several things at once. I think being a teenager is about finding whatever works for you. It's not about setting guidelines and limits but finding the balance that enables you to blossom.

JONATHAN KIMBLE  
Mercer Island, Wash.

I'M NOT THE LEAST BIT SURPRISED THAT members of the younger generation spend their time e-mailing, instant messaging and listening to iTunes while watching television, downloading files and trying to work at the same time. What shocks and alarms me is that I do too! I owe whatever success I've had in this life to my ability to focus and concentrate. But at age 53, I find that ability has all but disappeared.

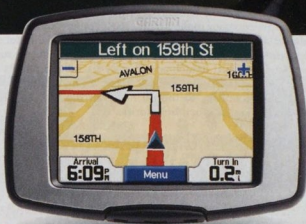
RICHARD ARMSTRONG  
Washington

## Questioning the War

I COMMEND TIME FOR THE FORUM OF views on the Iraq war, "Was It Worth It?" [March 27]. While the question may not have immediate relevance to our policy options in Iraq, it provides an important framework to evaluate future actions. I was disturbed, however, that none of the experts you gathered weighed the cost of the war abroad against investments at home. Had the U.S. taken the billions of dollars spent on the war and instead invested them in a moon-shot-style program to gain energy independence, would such a war even have been nec-



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essary? What about investments in education and port security and in shoring up Social Security? I am no expert, but it would be nice to hear those issues debated by those who are.

JULES KOPEL-BAILEY  
Princeton, N.J.

IRAQ IS A STRATEGICALLY IMPORTANT COUNTRY IN THE MIDDLE East, a region whose resources the whole world depends on and one that is rife with ruthless dictatorships that spawn much of the world's terrorist activity. So was the war worth it? That depends—is human freedom worth it?

GARRY CHAPMAN  
Oklahoma City, Okla.

YOUR "WIDE ARRAY OF EXPERTS AND THINKERS" WAS LARGELY characterized by hand-wringing, worrywart American élites (save for Tommy Franks) who opined that Iraq is a disaster. Those who live in the Middle East and have a direct investment in democracy, however, see the value of the U.S.'s hard-fought quest to stabilize Iraq, defeat Islamic terrorism and bring liberty to oppressed peoples. Our Founding Fathers would be proud of the latter and disgusted by the former.

KELLY WOOD  
Bozeman, Mont.

I HAVE ONE QUESTION FOR GEORGE W. BUSH & CO. WHY DID they choose Iraq and not Saudi Arabia—one of the worst offenders regarding human rights—as a location for implementing democracy in the Middle East? American troops have been stationed in Saudi Arabia since 1990, and I cannot understand why, over the past 15 years, they have not pressured the Saudis toward democracy. Twenty-six million Saudis are controlled by 7,000 members of a dictatorial royal family. I suppose it is secondary to the oil needs of the U.S. that King Abdullah adopt democratic reforms.

KRISHNADAS MUKUNDAN  
Etobicoke, Ont.

## The Price of Victory?

I BROKE DOWN WHILE READING "ONE MORNING IN HADITHA" [March 27], the story of the Iraqi civilians killed by U.S. Marines. Military excesses should never be covered up and

### SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

#### TITLE TROUBLE

■ Our March 27 story "The Multitasking Generation" incorrectly stated that Patricia Wallace "directs the Johns Hopkins Center for Talented Youth." The center's executive director is Dr. Lea Ybarra. Wallace's title is senior director, information technology and distance education.

#### DEMON OF THE DERBY

■ The March 27 Milestone on the death of roller-derby skater Ann Calvella misstated the name of the team she was on in her heyday. It was the San Francisco Bay Bombers, not the Bay City Bombers.



should be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law. The lives of the children who lost their parents are permanently devastated. Rather than paying the relatives of the victims \$2,500 each, the U.S. government should work with nongovernmental agencies to see if those innocent children could be adopted into Western homes. Victory in Iraq seems hardly worth it, when the very people who are to be protected by U.S. forces are slain under questionable circumstances.

REX S. ARUL  
Smyrna, Ga.

WHY DOESN'T TIME TRY TO SHOW SOME of the many positive things resulting from the war in Iraq? In various parts of the nation, life is vastly improved over what it was under Saddam Hussein. You go out of your way to publish negative photographs and editorials. Your articles are so slanted, it's ridiculous.

DAVID PROTHERO  
Irvin, Pa.

YOUR ACCOUNT OF THE ALLEGED MAS-  
sacre and ensuing cover-up at Haditha  
was the latest appalling example of the  
plague this war has become. Like the

Vietnam War, it seems to taint the rep-  
utation and humanity of all it touches.  
We're a long way from Iwo Jima.

MICHAEL BURNS  
Elkton, Md.

## Momentous Design

RE YOUR MILESTONE ON THE DEATH OF  
Oleg Cassini [March 27]: When Jacque-  
line Kennedy selected Cassini to design  
her wardrobe, it was a rare event, of note  
not just in the fashion world but also in  
politics. As a team they turned elegance  
into power and made our country the  
epitome of grace and style.

PATRICIA DIMASSA-RIDA  
West Haven, Conn.

## Protecting Poultry Workers

WHILE I WAS PLEASED TO SEE YOUR RE-  
porting on how U.S. poultry farmers are  
guarding their flocks against avian flu  
[March 20], I was disappointed that the  
story did not mention the thousands of  
poultry workers, growers, chicken catch-  
ers and processing-plant workers who,  
through intense daily contact with the  
commercial birds, are in the gravest dan-

ger. No U.S. agency is discussing the day-  
to-day contact that poultry workers have  
with potentially infected birds. To avoid  
an outbreak of avian flu, growers, poultry  
companies, unions and the government  
must work together to ensure that work-  
ers have proper protection.

MARK LAURITSEN  
UNITED FOOD AND COMMERCIAL  
WORKERS INTERNATIONAL UNION  
Washington

## HOW TO REACH US

### TIME

#### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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- Our fax number is 1-212-522-8949
- Or you can send your letter to: TIME Magazine Letters, Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020
- Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

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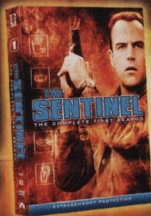
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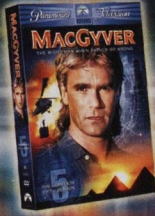
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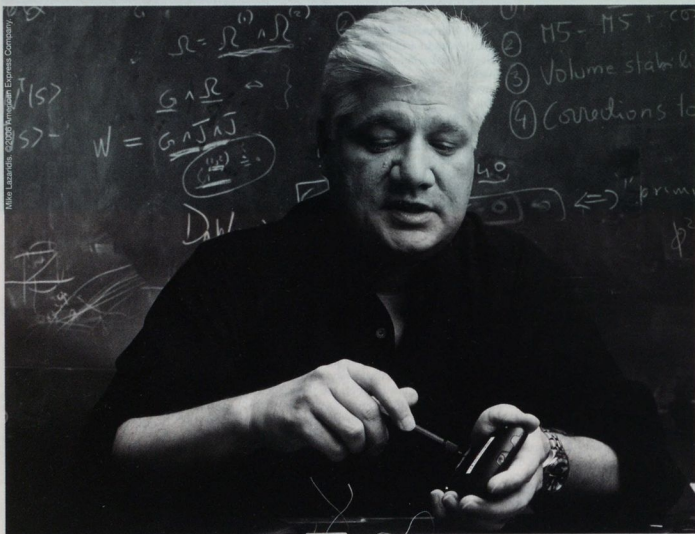
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last purchase ..... was 4 iPods, one for each member of the family .....  
favorite movie ..... is Primer .....  
inspiration ..... is the power of imagination .....  
My life ..... is about making ideas happen .....  
My card ..... is American Express .....



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# Who Should Be Among This Year's Picks for the **TIME**100?

To help make the selection, **TIME** asked earlier honorees whom they would select as the world's most influential people. This week's installment:



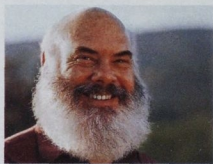
## AISHWARYA RAI

*The ex-Miss World conquered Bollywood and became an international film star*  
I would like to submit **Oprah Winfrey** as my nomination. There are those who are born to be leaders, and she is one of them. Oprah is a healer of lost souls. She continues to lead millions of people to their path of personal happiness. She has a powerful and generous spirit, with the heart of a goddess. She is both admired and loved.



## STEPHEN LEWIS

*The U.N.'s special envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa is the author of Race Against Time*  
I suggest **Michelle Bachelet**, Chile's first female President. She has set an astonishing precedent by appointing a Cabinet of exact gender parity. Also Liberia's new woman President, **Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf**, who broke the monolithic boys' club of Africa. She will bring economic and social justice to her country. And **Zackie Achmat**, who leads the world's most important AIDS activist organization. He has brought hope to millions living with AIDS in Africa.



## ANDREW WEIL

*An expert in the art of integrating Western medicine with herbal healing*

**Richard Davidson** is a pioneer in exciting mind-body medicine frontiers. His best-known work focuses on a capacity of the brain to develop and change throughout life. Using Tibetan monks as research subjects, he has shown how meditation can improve brain function. His studies may lead to therapeutic approaches for anxiety disorders and reveal ways to protect against memory loss and cognitive decline.



## SAMANTHA POWER

*A Harvard University professor, her book on genocide won a Pulitzer Prize in 2003*  
I nominate Turkish novelist **Orhan Pamuk**. He has acknowledged his homeland's genocide against the Armenians and nearly got himself arrested before the Turks decided their commitment to and pride in their greatest writer exceeded a commitment to killers who died almost a century ago. It could bring a cultural change. Also **George Clooney**, for the obvious reasons, and the **students** who led the divestment movement on campuses for Darfur.

Who led the most extraordinary life of the year?

Share your opinion on today's most influential people at [time.com/time100](http://time.com/time100)

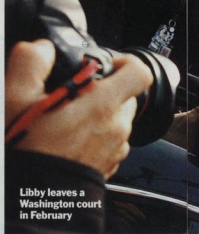


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# NoteBook



Libby leaves a Washington court in February

## When Is a Leak

**P**RESIDENT BUSH HAS HABITUALLY complained about "too much leaking in Washington," but it turns out he used his declassification power to combat attacks on the Administration's case for invading Iraq. Democrats call it a leak. The White House calls it a factual rebuttal. After several days of neither confirming nor denying testimony by ex-White House aide I. Lewis (Scooter) Libby, officials close to Vice President Cheney said the President indeed declassified part of a National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) in 2003 but left the method of releasing it up to others. After a conversation with Cheney, Libby delivered the passages to Judith Miller of the New York Times to counter Joseph Wilson, a vocal Administration critic.

A lawyer knowledgeable about the case said Bush directed that the material "be put out to the press and charged the Vice President with doing it, without saying when or where or how." A senior Administration

PHOTO: J. S. KATZ

A uranium-conversion facility near Isfahan, Iran



## READING IRAN'S MIND

**M**OHAMMED ELBARADEI, the U.N.'s point man on nuclear proliferation, plans to jet to Iran this week to urge its government to cooperate with a U.N. probe into its nuclear program. The Security Council, which relied in part on information the U.S. extracted from a single laptop computer that purportedly belonged to an Iranian engineer, gave Iran until April 28 to comply with the investigation. But a senior Bush Administration official tells TIME that there remain "substantial uncertainties" about the state of Tehran's nuclear program. "Iran is a very hard target," he concedes. "The truth is, if a country is going to try and pursue a nuclear program, they are going to try and do it in a way that's free from public view."

Such qualms within the Administration worry some outside it, who are starting to sense déjà vu. Jane Harman, the top Democrat on the House Intelligence Committee, notes similarities with Iraq. "We've seen this movie before," she says. Referring to a famous Iraqi informant known as Curveball, who proved to be an untrustworthy source, Harman asks, "Are we sure that Curveball or someone like Curveball isn't starring in this film too?"

A senior U.S. intelligence official insists the intel on Iran is solid. "What we've got is good," he says. Washington, the official says, has learned its lesson after being so wrong about Iraq's weapons program. But, he notes, "we also know what we don't know. We

know what the gaps are."

In the meantime, Iran shows little sign of compromise. Tehran still insists it's interested in nuclear technology only for energy, not weapons. Its neighbors were not soothed, however, when Iran tested three advanced missiles last week. —By Timothy J. Burger, Matthew Cooper, Michael Duffy and Elaine Shannon

SPEED  
READ

## Deal or No Deal?

Senators forged a bipartisan immigration-reform deal last week, only to see it fall apart, scuttling plans, for now, for worker visas and possible citizenship for millions of illegal immigrants. Here's what happened:

**What had the Senate agreed on?** A supermajority of 65 Senators had come to terms on a bill that included stronger border security as well as a chance to earn citizenship for illegal immigrants who have been in the U.S. for at least two years.



ILLUSTRATION: ALANSON FOR TIME





## Not a Leak?

official said the President had "no idea" of "Scooter's role or who he would be talking to" and gave no "tactical authorization" for putting out the material.

Libby's testimony was disclosed in a filing last week by the prosecutor probing the leak of the identity of former CIA officer Valerie Plame, Wilson's wife. The President has the power to declassify unilaterally. The

White House later published parts of the NIE, though some of the findings had been disputed by members of the intelligence community. "It was in the public interest that this information be provided," press secretary Scott McClellan said. The filing pointed out that Bush did not know about the leaking of Plame's

### Libby's testimony ties Bush to the war of words against critic Joseph Wilson

name. Lawyers involved in the case say the testimony increases the chances that Plame and Wilson will file a civil suit against Administration officials. "The difficulty," says a lawyer familiar with their plans, "will be in selecting among the many possible claims and the many possible defendants." —By Mike Allen

## BLOGWATCH

The BBC recruited new Netizens last week, sending a reporter with a laptop to the drought-stricken village of Moyale, Ethiopia, so that residents could take part in a daylong online chat with visitors to BBC.com. **Notes from a Teacher**, a Canadian journalism instructor's blog, praised the BBC for "facilitating public, person-to-person conversation." **The Concoction**, an Africa-focused blog, saw a lesson for NGOs, which should "follow the BBC's example" and talk to locals "before they design their projects." **Wonkette** played the snarky cynic: "Live starving villagers waiting to talk to you!" it said. "That's a bit of a downer."



**Why did the deal fall apart?** The Democrats wanted guarantees that the G.O.P. would protect the deal in talks with the House's anti-immigration Republicans. The G.O.P. refused. That raised the possibility that House-Senate negotiations would result in a hard-line bill stripped of many of the Senate's provisions. Senate minority leader Harry Reid feared Democrats would be hurt in the November elections if they had to vote against such a bill. Republicans say Reid just wanted to deny them a legislative win they could use in the fall.

**Did anyone win?** **Big Business** is O.K. with the status quo. It preferred no deal to one that might impose tougher fines for hiring illegal immigrants. **Is immigration reform dead?** Judiciary Committee chairman Arlen Specter has vowed to turn his panel's attention to reviving the deal as soon as Senators return from their two-week Easter break and to move a bill back to the full Senate within a week. But majority leader Bill Frist has not committed to taking the bill back to the floor. —By Massimo Calabresi



"I'm constantly looking back to see if things could be done differently or better."

**PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH**, acknowledging that the U.S. has made mistakes in Iraq and citing the abuse of inmates at Abu Ghraib prison, which "hurt us in the international area, especially in the Muslim world"

"My eyes caught on a man on the 100th floor... I was watching the man throwing himself out. I watched him go all the way down and hit."

**RUDOLPH GIULIANI**, former New York City mayor, testifying at Zacarias Moussawi's sentencing trial, on his memories of the World Trade Center attack on Sept. 11, 2001

"That cargo container could have been filled with anything from a dirty bomb to a cell of terrorists."

**PATTY MURRAY**, Democratic Senator from Washington, calling for improvements in security after 22 Chinese stewaways were found in a cargo container at Seattle's port

"Do we know whether this is perfect or not? No, because it's never been done before."

**SALVATORE DIMASI**, speaker of the Massachusetts House, on the new universal health-care plan passed last week, which mandates medical insurance for all state residents and provides the poorest with no-premium, no-deductible coverage

"If you were not protected by God, you would be afraid of a gecko."

**SADDAM HUSSEIN**, former Iraqi dictator, answering prosecutors' questions for the first time in his war-crimes trial

"I don't want [my daughters] to be empty-headed, self-obsessed, emaciated clones; I'd rather they were independent, interesting... a thousand things before 'thin.'"

**J.K. ROWLING**, Harry Potter author and mother of three, writing in her online diary about the fashion industry's promotion of skinny celebrities as role models for young girls

"I don't think I've ever been accused of seducing anyone, including my wife."

**STEPHEN HARPER**, Canadian Prime Minister, responding to a claim that he "seduced" former Liberal M.P. David Emerson to switch to Harper's Conservative Party

Sources: White House; Bloomberg; Los Angeles Times; the Daily Item; Washington Post; the Daily Telegraph; Calgary Sun

# JUDAS: FOE OR FRIEND?

**F**OR CENTURIES, CHRISTIAN tradition has painted Judas Iscariot as the ultimate sellout. But a 1,700-year-old papyrus copy of a document called the *Gospel of Judas*, unveiled by the National Geographic Society last week and previewed in TIME (Feb. 27 issue), presents a radically different view. Authored no later than the 2nd century by Christians whose beliefs were later deemed heretical, the gospel portrays Judas as a favored disciple and says his role in "sacrificing" Jesus' physical being ("the man that clothes me") elevates him above other Apostles. Most scholars see Judas less as a competitor to the biblical canon today than as one of many philosophies wiped out as the church established orthodoxy. Here's a look at Judas, as depicted in the rediscovered gospel and in the Bible. —By David Van Biema

## The Bible

**TRAITOR** But woe to that man who betrays the Son of Man! It would be better for him if he had not been born. *Matthew 26: 24*

**POSSESSED BY THE DEVIL** Then Satan entered Judas, called Iscariot, one of the Twelve. And Judas went to the chief priests... and discussed with them how he might betray Jesus. *Luke 22: 3-4*

**A DEAD END** With the reward he got for his wickedness, Judas bought a field; there he fell headlong, his body burst open and all his intestines spilled out.

*Acts 1: 18*

## The Gospel of Judas

**CHRIST'S CONFIDANT** Jesus said to him, "Step away from the others and I shall tell you the mysteries of the kingdom."

**LOYAL SERVANT** "You will be cursed by the other generations... But you will exceed all of them. For you will sacrifice the man that clothes me."



**TRIUMPHANT** Jesus answered and said, "[Y]ou will come to rule over them. In the last days they will curse your ascent to the holy."

## NoteBook

# NO RAIN DANCES, PLEASE

PROM 2006

**A**s Mardi Gras showed, Hurricane Katrina couldn't dampen New Orleans' spirit. Now volunteers nationwide are working to keep the party going for prom season. Denise Marhoefer, an Indiana woman who is coordinating a national fund-raising and gown-collecting drive for the Jesuit high school proms in May, will fly in flowers and 70 hairstylists. Maryland's Marisa West, 17, below, gathered more than 2,700 dresses for six schools in Louisiana and Mississippi, including New Orleans' Cabrini High. One Cabrini girl who picked a dress last week was Ryan Lefrere, 17, whose grandmother had been planning to stitch her gown, as she did last spring. "But," says Lefrere, "she lost her sewing machine in the flood." —By Jenine Lee-St. John



MARISA WEST/PHOTO BY THE WASHINGTON POST

# Fifty Windows on the World

**T**HINK GLOBALLY, ACT LOCALLY. That's the message as more and more communities turn to nonbinding ballot initiatives to chime in on national and foreign policy. In Wisconsin last week, residents of 24 counties passed resolutions calling for U.S. troops to pull out of Iraq, joining dozens of towns in Vermont that have passed similar measures. Seven states—Alaska, Arizona, Colorado, Hawaii, Maine, Montana and Vermont—and nearly 400 counties have voted either to criticize or ignore the Patriot Act. Come November, voters in localities across the U.S. will be asked to say yea or nay to affirmative action, abortion and embryonic-stem-cell research. "All of these are very personal issues. Who better to decide them than citizens themselves?" asks Archon Fung, a government professor at Harvard. "This is true direct democracy."

Except, of course, that these resolutions have only symbolic power—and real policy change

still has to come from state and federal governments. "Referendums are the protest vehicle for the new century," says Elizabeth Garrett, director of U.S.C.'s Initiative and Referendum Institute. "People are dissatisfied with federal leadership, and voting is the best way they know to voice it."



Lawmakers rarely take heed of such ballot measures, but maybe they should. The initiatives bring voters to the polls—turnout in Baraboo, Wis., tripled this election cycle. "More votes," says Garrett, "is a message politicians on every level understand."

—By Kathleen Kingsbury

ILLUSTRATION FOR TIME BY MICHAEL KLEIN

HOLY BIBLE

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*business.*”



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NUMBERS

**445** Tornadoes reported in the U.S. in 2006 as of last week, about five times the average by this time of year over the past decade

**23** People killed by twisters in western Tennessee, the worst one-day toll in the U.S. since 1999

**9,000** Years ago that humans first had holes drilled into their molars, according to analyses of nine bodies found in Pakistan, adding four millennia to the known history of dentistry

**160** Estimated number of years that dentists and doctors have been using anesthetic

**\$1.13 million** Prize money to be paid to each French Open singles champion this year, the first time the women's winner at the tennis tournament will receive as much as the men's

**\$54,036**

Difference in payouts between the 2005

men's and women's champions at Wimbledon, the only Grand Slam event that still pays men more

**59%** Proportion of brides-to-be who expect to have sex on their wedding night; 28% plan only to sleep, according to a survey of women in 17 states

**16%** Proportion of brides-to-be who hope to get pregnant right after the wedding

Sources: NOAA; USA Today; International Herald Tribune; Britannica; Forbes; USA Today; Brides.com

PUNCHLINES



“Happy 58th birthday to Al Gore. I don’t want to say Al Gore is boring, but his party broke up before they finished singing the song Happy Birthday.” **JAY LENO**

“David Hasselhoff’s divorce has been getting ugly for weeks, and now he’s claiming his wife needs psychiatric help. When asked for an example of why she needs help, Hasselhoff said, ‘She married David Hasselhoff.’” **CONAN O’BRIEN**

“Today at a press conference, President Bush hinted that more personnel changes are coming. A lot of nervous people at the White House—earlier today Vice President Cheney signed up for Monster.com.” **JIMMY KIMMEL**



NEWS ITEM: OBESE INFANTS CAN'T FIT IN CHILD SAFETY SEATS

For more political humor, visit [time.com/cartoons](http://time.com/cartoons)



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Now's the time to catch the sleep you need. If you've been hesitant to take a prescription sleep aid, be sure to ask your doctor about Lunesta.

How are your sleeping habits? There are many changes you can make in your lifestyle to improve your sleep. To find out more go to [www.lunesta.com](http://www.lunesta.com)

**Important Safety Information:** Be sure you have at least eight hours to devote to sleep before becoming active. Until you know how you'll react to Lunesta, you should not drive or operate machinery. Do not use alcohol while taking Lunesta. Most sleep medicines carry some risk of dependency. Side effects may include unpleasant taste, headache, drowsiness and dizziness.

*See important patient information on the next page.*

***Leave the rest to Lunesta***



Please read this summary of information about LUNESTA before you talk to your doctor or start using LUNESTA. It is not meant to take the place of your doctor's instructions. If you have any questions about LUNESTA tablets, be sure to ask your doctor or pharmacist.

LUNESTA is used to treat different types of sleep problems, such as difficulty in falling asleep, difficulty in maintaining sleep during the night, and waking up too early in the morning. Most people with insomnia have more than one of these problems. You should take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed because of the risk of falling.

LUNESTA belongs to a group of medicines known as "hypnotics" or, simply, sleep medicines. There are many different sleep medicines available to help people sleep better. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent. It usually requires treatment for only a short time, usually 7 to 10 days up to 2 weeks. If your insomnia does not improve after 7 to 10 days of treatment, see your doctor, because it may be a sign of an underlying condition. Some people have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. However, you should not use these medicines for long periods without talking with your doctor about the risks and benefits of prolonged use.

#### Side Effects

All medicines have side effects. The most common side effects of sleep medicines are:

- Drowsiness
- Dizziness
- Lightheadedness
- Difficulty with coordination

Sleep medicines can make you sleepy during the day. How drowsy you feel depends upon how your body reacts to the medicine, which sleep medicine you are taking, and how large a dose your doctor has prescribed. Daytime drowsiness is best avoided by taking the lowest dose possible that will still help you sleep at night. Your doctor will work with you to find the dose of LUNESTA that is best for you. Some people taking LUNESTA have reported next-day sleepiness.

To manage these side effects while you are taking this medicine:

- When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
- Do not drink alcohol when you are taking LUNESTA or any sleep medicine. Alcohol can increase the side effects of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
- Do not take any other medicines without asking your doctor first. This includes medicines you can buy without a prescription. Some medicines can cause drowsiness and are best avoided while taking LUNESTA.
- Always take the exact dose of LUNESTA prescribed by your doctor. Never change your dose without talking to your doctor first.

#### Special Concerns

There are some special problems that may occur while taking sleep medicines.

##### Memory Problems

Sleep medicines may cause a special type of memory loss or "amnesia." When this occurs, a person may not remember what has happened for several hours after taking the medicine. This is usually not a problem since most people fall asleep after taking the medicine. Memory loss can be a problem, however, when sleep medicines are taken while traveling, such as during an airplane flight and the person wakes up before the effect of the medicine is gone. This has been called "traveler's amnesia." Memory problems have been reported rarely by patients taking LUNESTA in clinical studies. In most cases, memory problems can be avoided if

you take LUNESTA only when you are able to get a full night of sleep before you need to be active again. Be sure to talk to your doctor if you think you are having memory problems.

##### Tolerance

When sleep medicines are used every night for more than a few weeks, they may lose their effectiveness in helping you sleep. This is known as "tolerance." Development of tolerance to LUNESTA was not observed in a clinical study of 6 months' duration. Insomnia is often transient and intermittent, and prolonged use of sleep medicines is generally not necessary. Some people, though, have chronic sleep problems that may require more prolonged use of sleep medicine. If your sleep problems continue, consult your doctor, who will determine whether other measures are needed to overcome your sleep problems.

##### Dependence

Sleep medicines can cause dependence in some people, especially when these medicines are used regularly for longer than a few weeks or at high doses. Dependence is the need to continue taking a medicine because stopping it is unpleasant.

When people develop dependence, stopping the medicine suddenly may cause unpleasant symptoms (see *Withdrawal* below). They may find they have to keep taking the medicine either at the prescribed dose or at increasing doses just to avoid withdrawal symptoms.

All people taking sleep medicines have some risk of becoming dependent on the medicine. However, people who have been dependent on alcohol or other drugs in the past may have a higher chance of becoming addicted to sleep medicines. This possibility must be considered before using these medicines for more than a few weeks. If you have been addicted to alcohol or drugs in the past, it is important to tell your doctor before starting LUNESTA or any sleep medicine.

##### Withdrawal

Withdrawal symptoms may occur when sleep medicines are stopped suddenly after being used daily for a long time. In some cases, these symptoms can occur even if the medicine has been used for only a week or two. In mild cases, withdrawal symptoms may include unpleasant feelings. In more severe cases, abdominal and muscle cramps, vomiting, sweating, shakiness, and, rarely, seizures may occur. These more severe withdrawal symptoms are very uncommon. Although withdrawal symptoms have not been observed in the relatively limited controlled trials experience with LUNESTA, there is, nevertheless, the risk of such events in association with the use of any sleep medicine.

Another problem that may occur when sleep medicines are stopped is known as "rebound insomnia." This means that a person may have more trouble sleeping the first few nights after the medicine is stopped than before starting the medicine. If you should experience rebound insomnia, do not get discouraged. This problem usually goes away on its own after 1 or 2 nights.

If you have been taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for more than 1 or 2 weeks, do not stop taking it on your own. Always follow your doctor's directions.

##### Changes in Behavior And Thinking

Some people using sleep medicines have experienced unusual changes in their thinking and/or behavior. These effects are not common. However, they have included:

- More outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal
- Confusion
- Strange behavior
- Agitation
- Hallucinations
- Worsening of depression
- Suicidal thoughts

How often these effects occur depends on several factors, such as a person's general health, the use of other medicines, and which sleep medicine is being used. Clinical experience with LUNESTA suggests that it is rarely associated with these behavior changes.

It is also important to realize it is rarely clear whether these behavior changes are caused by the medicine, are caused by an illness, or have occurred on their own. In fact, sleep problems that do not improve may be due to illnesses that were present before the medicine was used. If you or your family notice

any changes in your behavior, or if you have any unusual or disturbing thoughts, call your doctor immediately.

##### Pregnancy And Breastfeeding

Sleep medicines may cause sedation or other potential effects in the unborn baby when used during the last weeks of pregnancy. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, or if you become pregnant while taking LUNESTA.

In addition, a very small amount of LUNESTA may be present in breast milk after use of the medication. The effects of very small amounts of LUNESTA on an infant are not known; therefore, as with all other prescription sleep medicines, it is recommended that you not take LUNESTA if you are breastfeeding a baby.

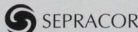
##### Safe Use Of Sleep Medicines

To ensure the safe and effective use of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, you should observe the following cautions:

1. LUNESTA is a prescription medicine and should be used ONLY as directed by your doctor. Follow your doctor's instructions about how to take, when to take, and how long to take LUNESTA.
2. Never use LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine for longer than directed by your doctor.
3. If you notice any unusual and/or disturbing thoughts or behavior during treatment with LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, contact your doctor.
4. Tell your doctor about any medicines you may be taking, including medicines you may buy without a prescription and herbal preparations. You should also tell your doctor if you drink alcohol. Do not use alcohol while taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine.
5. Do not take LUNESTA unless you are able to get 8 or more hours of sleep before you must be active again.
6. Do not increase the prescribed dose of LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine unless instructed by your doctor.
7. When you first start taking LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine, until you know whether the medicine will still have some effect on you the next day, use extreme care while doing anything that requires complete alertness, such as driving a car, operating machinery, or piloting an aircraft.
8. Be aware that you may have more sleeping problems the first night or two after stopping any sleep medicine.
9. Be sure to tell your doctor if you are pregnant, if you are planning to become pregnant, if you become pregnant, or if you are breastfeeding a baby while taking LUNESTA.
10. As with all prescription medicines, never share LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine with anyone else. Always store LUNESTA or any other sleep medicine in the original container and out of reach of children.
11. Be sure to tell your doctor if you suffer from depression. LUNESTA works very quickly. You should only take LUNESTA immediately before going to bed.
12. For LUNESTA to work best, you should not take it with or immediately after a high-fat, heavy meal.
13. Some people, such as older adults (i.e., ages 65 and over) and people with liver disease, should start with the lower dose (1 mg) of LUNESTA. Your doctor may choose to start therapy at 2 mg. In general, adults under age 65 should be treated with 2 or 3 mg.
15. Each tablet is a single dose; do not crush or break the tablet.

**Note:** This summary provides important information about LUNESTA. If you would like more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist to let you read the Prescribing Information and then discuss it with him or her.

##### Rx only





YEARS AGO  
IN TIME

**NAMED.** **Katie Couric, 49**, as anchor of the CBS *Evening News*, becoming the first sole female anchor and managing editor of a network



newscast; in New York City. As the abidingly chipper co-host of *Today*, Couric led NBC's morning show to

538 consecutive weeks of ratings dominance. In September, Couric will assume the desk once manned by Walter Cronkite; she will also be a contributor to *60 Minutes*.

**RESIGNED.** **Brian Doyle, 56**, as deputy press secretary at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security; following his arrest for attempting to seduce a minor over the Internet; in Silver Spring, Md. Doyle was an employee of *TIME*'s Washington bureau from 1975 to 2001.

**CLEARED.** **Dan Brown, 41**, whose 2003 novel, *The Da Vinci Code*, was denounced by the Vatican for "falsify[ing] the figure of Christ" on its way to becoming one of the best-selling (40 million copies) adult novels in history; of allegations that he lifted a theme—that Jesus married Mary Magdalene and had a child—from another book, *The Holy Blood and the*

*Holy Grail*; in a verdict by Britain's High Court that clears the way for next month's release of the film version of the book, starring Tom Hanks; in London. Brown, who acknowledged reading *Blood* during his research, called the charge "utterly without merit."

**MURDERED.** **Denis Donaldson, 56**, former official in Sinn Féin, the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, who in December admitted he had been spying on the L.R.A. for the British since the mid-1980s; by gunfire; at his family's holiday home in County Donegal, Ireland. The L.R.A., which renounced political violence last year but has had a policy of killing suspected informants, denied responsibility for the murder.



**▲ DIED.** **Maggie Dixon, 28**, head coach of the U.S. Army women's basketball team, who last month led the Black Knights to their first NCAA women's tournament, where they lost to No. 6-ranked Tennessee in the first round; following an episode of irregular heartbeat; in Valhalla, N.Y. At the urging of her older brother, Pitts-

burgh men's basketball coach Jamie Dixon, the onetime WNBA hopeful took up coaching after failing to win a spot on the Los Angeles Sparks. The siblings are thought to be the first to coach at the NCAA tournaments in the same year.

**DIED.** **Barry Bingham Jr., 72**, third-generation chief of a Kentucky media empire run by the liberal, philanthropic, much chronicled Bingham family, sometimes called the Kennedys of the South; of respiratory failure, after a battle with Hodgkin's disease; in Glenview, Ky. After two brothers died in freak accidents, Bingham took over the *Courier-Journal* and *Louisville Times* from his father in 1971. He set new ethics guidelines, pushed public-service journalism and led the papers to three



DAVID R. LUTMAN—THE COURIER-JOURNAL/AP

Pulitzers before a battle among the siblings prompted patriarch Barry Bingham Sr. to sell the papers to Gannett in 1986.

**DIED.** **Helen Ulrich, 83**, founder of the international Society for Nutrition Education, who agitated for labels with nutritional information and introduced a food pyramid at a 1988 global conference, four years before the U.S. Department of Agriculture published its original standard Food Guide Pyramid; in Berkeley, Calif.

**DIED.** **Henry Farrell, 85**, pulp novelist and screenwriter who specialized in macabre melodrama and penned the short story that inspired the film *Hush... Hush*, *Sweet Charlotte* as well as the novel *What Ever Happened to Baby Jane?*; in Pacific Palisades, Calif. The 1962 film version of *Jane*, which starred Bette Davis and Joan Crawford, helped fuel a genre of dark thrillers and won five Oscar nominations.



**DIED.** **Gene Pitney, 65**, wholesome, ebullient teen idol who crooned impossibly melodramatic tales of failed romance, topping the charts in the 1960s with hits including *24 Hours from Tulsa*, (*The Man Who Shot*) *Liberty Valance* and the Oscar-nominated title song for the 1961 film *Town Without Pity*; apparently of natural causes, while on tour in Britain; in Cardiff, Wales. One of the first acts produced by Phil Spector, the perfectionistic tenor got his start behind the scenes, penning hits for artists like Ricky Nelson (*Hello Mary Lou*), Bobby Vee (*Rubber Ball*) and the Crystals (*He's a Rebel*).

**President Hu Jintao of CHINA, who travels to Washington next week, leads a country whose economic might is in many ways the legacy of Deng Xiaoping, the first top Communist Chinese leader to visit the U.S.**



In Washington, where Kings, Prime Ministers and Presidents are routinely received with equanimity bordering on boredom, Teng's [sic] arrival provoked the keenest excitement. Not since Nikita Khrushchev flew in from Moscow to take a crack at dé-tente 20 years ago has a state visit aroused so much exhilaration... Teng's determination to modernize China's backward industry by the year 2000 led him to request tours of the advanced technology production lines for which U.S. industry is celebrated. During a 24-hr. swing through Georgia, he will visit the Ford Motor Co.'s assembly plant near Atlanta. His tour guide: Henry Ford II. Dinner that night at the mansion of Georgia Governor George Busbee will feature spinach souffle, thinly sliced veal and vanilla mousse—all foods especially selected for eaters unskilled in the use of a knife and fork. *TIME*, Feb. 5, 1979

**Read the entire article at [time.com/years](http://time.com/years)**



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# Dropout Nation

The number of high school students who leave before graduating is higher—much higher—than you think. Inside one town's struggle to reverse the tide

By NATHAN THORNBURGH SHELBYVILLE

IT'S LUNCHTIME AT SHELBYVILLE HIGH SCHOOL, 30 miles southeast of Indianapolis, Ind., and more than 100 teenagers are buzzing over trays in the cafeteria. Like high schoolers everywhere, they have arranged themselves by type: jocks, preps, cheerleaders, dorks, punks and gamers, all with tables of their own. But when they are finished chugging the milk and throwing Tater Tots at one another, they will drift out to their classes and slouch together through lessons on Edgar Allan Poe and Pythagoras. It's the promise of American public education: no matter who you are or where you come from, you will be tugged gently along the path of learning, toward graduation and an open but hopeful future.

Shawn Sturgill, 18, had a clique of his own at Shelbyville High, a dozen or so friends who sat at the same long bench in the hallway outside the cafeteria. They were, Shawn says, an average crowd. Not too rich, not too poor; not bookish, but not slow. They rarely got into trouble. Mainly they sat around and talked about Camaros and the Indianapolis Colts.

These days the bench is mostly empty. Of his dozen friends, Shawn says just one or two are still at Shelbyville High. If some cliques are defined by a common sport or a shared obsession with Yu-Gi-Oh! cards, Shawn's friends ended up being defined by their mutual destiny: nearly all of them became high school dropouts.

Shawn's friends are not alone in their exodus. Of the 315 Shelbyville students who showed up for the first day of high school four years ago, only 215 are expected to graduate. The 100 others have simply melted away, dropping out in a slow, steady bleed that has left the town wondering how it could have let down so many of its kids.

## THE HOLDOUT

Most of his friends have dropped out, and now he faces a fifth year of high school. But Shawn Sturgill, 18, says he will do what it takes to graduate

TIME





## Dropout Nation

In today's data-happy era of accountability, testing and No Child Left Behind, here is the most astonishing statistic in the whole field of education: an increasing number of researchers are saying that nearly 1 out of 3 public high school students won't graduate, not just in Shelbyville but around the nation. For Latinos and African Americans, the rate approaches an alarming 50%. Virtually no community, small or large, rural or urban, has escaped the problem.

There is a small but hardy band of researchers who insist the dropout rates don't quite approach those levels. They point to their pet surveys that suggest a rate of only 15% to 20%. The dispute is difficult to referee, particularly in the wake of decades of lax accounting by states and schools. But the majority of analysts and lawmakers have come to this consensus: the numbers have remained unchecked at approximately 30% through two decades of intense educational reform, and the magnitude of the problem has been consistently, and often willfully, ignored.

That's starting to change. During his most recent State of the Union address, President George W. Bush promised more resources to help children stay in school, and Democrats promptly attacked him for lacking a specific plan. The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation has trained its moneyed eye on the problem, funding "The Silent Epidemic," a study issued in March that has gained widespread attention both in Washington and in statehouses around the country.

The attention comes against a backdrop



## “MY MOM QUIT SCHOOL, AND MY DA TEACHERS WOULD ASK ABOUT MY NAME, AND I KNEW W

of rising peril for dropouts. If their grandparents' generation could find a blue-collar niche and prosper, the latest group is immediately relegated to the most punishing sector of the economy, where whatever low-wage jobs haven't yet moved overseas are increasingly filled by even lower-wage immigrants. Dropping out of high school to-

day is to your societal health what smoking is to your physical health, an indicator of a host of poor outcomes to follow, from low lifetime earnings to high incarceration rates to a high likelihood that your children will drop out of high school and start the cycle anew.

Identifying the problem is just the first step. The next moves are being made by towns like Shelbyville, where a loose coalition of community leaders and school administrators have, for the first time, placed dropout prevention at the top of the agenda. Now they are gamely trying to identify why kids are leaving and looking for ways to reverse the tide. At the request of a former principal, a local factory promised to stop tempting dropouts with jobs. Superintendent David Adams is scouting vacant

storefronts for a place to put a new alternative high school. And Shelbyville's Republican state representative, Luke Messer, sponsored a bill, signed into law by the Governor two weeks ago, that will give students alternatives to traditional high school while imposing tough penalties on those who try to leave early without getting permission from the school district or a judge.

Shelbyville, a town of almost 18,000 located on the outer fringe of the "doughnut" counties that ring Indianapolis, seems an unlikely battleground in the war on dropouts. Despite a few oddities—it's home to both the oldest living Hoosier and the world's tallest woman—it is an otherwise pleasantly unremarkable town. The capital



Watch The Oprah Winfrey Show on Tuesday, April 11, and Wednesday, April 12, for "Oprah's Special Report: American Schools in Crisis" (check local listings)





## D WAS A TROUBLEMAKER. MY HAT THEY WERE GETTING AT.??

is just a short drive away, but miles of rust-colored farmland, mainly cornfields waiting for seed, give the area a rural tinge. Most people live in single-family houses with yards and fences. Not many of them are very well off, but there's little acute poverty, as a gaggle of automotive and other factories has given the town a steady supply of well-paying jobs. Violent crime is rare, and the town is pervaded by a throwback decency. People wave at one another from their cars on Budd Street. They chitchat in the aisles of Mickey's T-Mart grocery store.

For years, Shelbyville had been comforted by its self-reported—and wildly inaccurate—graduation rate of up to 98%.

The school district arrived at that number by using a commonly accepted statistical feint, counting any dropout who promises to take the GED test later on as a graduating student.

The GED trick is only one of many deployed by state and local governments around the country to disguise the real dropout rates. Houston, for example, had its notorious "leaver codes"—dozens of excuses, such as pregnancy and military service, that were often applied to students who were later reclassified as dropouts by outside auditors. The Federal Government has been similarly deceptive, producing rosy graduation-rate estimates—usually be-

### THE RESTLESS ONE

Behind on class credits and impatient with the minor indignities of high school life, Susan Swinehart, 17, quit three months before graduation. An honors student her freshman year, she now works at Taco Bell

tween 85% and 90%—by relying only on a couple of questions buried deep within the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The survey asks whether respondents have a diploma or GED. Critics say the census count severely underreports dropout numbers, in part because it doesn't include transients or prisoners, populations with a high proportion of dropouts.

In 2001, Jay Greene, a senior fellow at the Manhattan Institute, published a study that peeled back the layers of statistical legerdemain. Poring over raw education data, he asked himself a basic question: What percentage of kids who start at a high school finish? The answers led Greene and subsequent researchers around the country to place the national graduation rate at anywhere from 64% to 71%. It's a rate that most researchers say has remained fairly static since the 1970s, despite increased attention on the plight of public schools and a vigorous educational-reform movement.

Starting a year ago, the people of Shelbyville began to admit the scope of their problem by asking themselves the same simple questions about who was graduating. It helped that superintendent Adams was new to his job and that the high school's principal was too. They had a clean slate and little incentive to make excuses for the old way of doing things.

### THE PUSHOUT

SARAH MILLER, 28, WAS A VICTIM OF THOSE old ways. An intelligent but rebellious teenager with a turbulent home life, Sarah began falling behind in attendance and classwork her freshman year. Like many other 15-year-olds, she had a talent for making poor decisions. She and her friends would often skip out of school after lunch and cruise up and down Broadway. Teachers rarely stopped them, but school authorities knew what she and her friends were up to. One morning Sarah went to the school office to discuss getting back on track but got a surprise. One of the administrators asked her point-blank, "Why don't you just quit school?" "I was just a kid," says Sarah with a laugh. "It was like they said the magic words. So I told them, 'O.K.!' And I left."

Sarah never set foot in a high school again. She got her GED, but now she's too

## > Nearly 1 in 3 public high school students won't graduate

# Dropout Nation

afraid to try community college, she says, because she doesn't want to look stupid. Although she has a house she owns with her husband and a fine job serving coffee, biscuits and small talk at Ole McDonald's Cafe in nearby Acton, Ind., Sarah is not without regret. "It would have been nice to have someone pushing me to stay," she says. "Who knows how things would have turned out?"

Researchers call students like Sarah "pushouts," not dropouts. Shelbyville High's new principal, Tom Zobel, says he's familiar with the mind-set. "Ten years ago," he says, "if we had a problem student, the plan was, 'O.K., let's figure out how to get rid of this kid.' Now we have to get them help."

But can educators really be faulted for the calculation, however cold, that certain kids are an unwise investment of their limited energies and resources? That question quickly leads to the much thornier issues of class and clout that shape the dropout crisis. The national statistics on the topic are blunt: according to the National Center for Education Statistics, kids from the lowest income quarter are more than six times as likely to drop out of high school as kids from the highest. And in Shelbyville, nearly every dropout I met voiced a similar complaint: teachers and principals treat the "rich kids" better. "The rich kids always knew how to be good kids," says Sarah in a more nuanced version of the same refrain. "So I guess it's natural the schools wanted to work with them more than with the rest of us." The poor kids, though, are exactly the ones who need the extra investment.

Shelbyville leaders hope to change the prevailing mentality. At a cavernous high school gym in nearby Columbus, I watched the boys' basketball sectional semifinal with Shelbyville mayor Scott Furgeson. The Shelbyville Golden Bears' 21-0 regular season record had turned the town's usual Hoosier hysteria into Hoosier

histrionics. As his constituents cheered on the good kids—the lithe, clean-cut basketball players who were dominating Columbus North High School—Furgeson paused to think about the other kids. Before becoming mayor, he spent 22 years managing the local Pizza King franchise. Every year he had to hire up to 200 teenagers, many of them dropouts, just to keep 10 full-time positions staffed. Those teenagers, failing in life as they had failed at school, were often the children of people Furgeson had seen quit school when he was a student at Shelbyville High 25 years before. The dropout problem, he says, corrupts the community far beyond the halls of the high school. "I worry that we're creating a permanent underclass," he says.

John Bridgeland, CEO of the Washington-based public-policy firm Civic Enterprises, says it's that type of attitude shift, more than legislation, that is likely to lead to change. Messer's 2005 bill made Indiana one of six states in the past five years to raise its minimum dropout age to 18 from 16. (Twenty-three states still let kids drop out at the younger age without parental consent.) Bridgeland, who co-wrote the Gates Foundation-funded report, supports the age hike but warns that states can't legislate in a vacuum. "These laws have to be coupled with strong support from the school and the community," he says. Underlying that conviction is perhaps the most surprising finding of the Gates survey: just how few dropouts report being overwhelmed academically. Fully 88% said they had passing grades in high school. Asked to name the reasons they had left school, more respondents named boredom than struggles with course work.

## THE RESTLESS ONE

SUSAN SWINEHART, 17, WAS AN HONORS student her freshman year. She also joined

## IT WOULD HAVE BEEN EASIER FOR ME TO STAY. WHO KNOWS?

the yearbook staff and found that she loved selling the \$300 full-page yearbook ads to local businesses like Rush Shelby Energy and Fat Daddy's restaurant.

But the social cauldron of high school weighed on her. She didn't get along with the cheerleaders on the yearbook staff. And her avid interest in Stephen King novels and TV shows about forensics earned her a false reputation, she says, as a glum goth girl. So she started ditching class, barreling through the Indiana countryside alone in her Dodge Neon, blasting her favorite song, *The Ghost of You*, by My

## TIME The Oprah Winfrey Show Poll

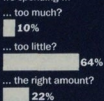
# WHAT COURSE SHOULD WE TAKE?

Dropouts vex parents, schools, states

This TIME/Oprah Winfrey Show poll was conducted March 28-30 among 1,000 adult Americans by SRBI Public Affairs. The margin of error for the entire sample is ±3 percentage points. The margin of error is higher for subgroups. "Don't know" responses omitted for some questions. For complete poll results, go to [www.oprah.com](http://www.oprah.com)

**THE SCHOOLS** Although many Americans rate public schools as cash-strapped and mediocre, parents of schoolchildren have a much brighter perspective

When it comes to public schools, are we spending ...



Would you be willing to pay higher taxes to improve public schools?



What grade would you give public schools in the U.S.?



What grade would you give your child's public school?





## THE PUSHOUT

Sarah Miller, 28, is a waitress at Ole McDonald's Cafe in Acton, Ind. A decade ago, she dropped out of high school. She says it was a school administrator who suggested the idea. Now she regrets leaving early

wanted to kill her," says Kathy. But Kathy had her own bitterness about Shelbyville High. Two decades earlier, she too had been angered by the indifference of the school. She dropped out as soon as she turned 16.

On Feb. 22, Susan's mother went to school with her to sign her out of high school. That night Susan applied for more hours at the Taco Bell where she worked and promptly stayed for the 5 p.m.-to-2 a.m. shift. The other women on the graveyard shift gave her hell for quitting school. They were mostly dropouts themselves, says Susan, who reminded her that even at fast-food chains, anyone who wants to advance needs a diploma or GED. She had, they told her, just broken something that could not be easily put back together.

Susan says she will prove them wrong. She has started a Pennsylvania-based correspondence course that both her mother and sister completed. For \$985, it provides textbooks, online tests and teacher support via phone and e-mail.

# BEEN NICE TO HAVE SOMEONE PUSHING KNOWS HOW THINGS WOULD HAVE TURNED OUT??

Chemical Romance—a song, as she puts it, about missed opportunities and regret.

"I'd rather regret something I did," she says, eyes welling with tears, "than regret something I didn't do." For her, sitting in a classroom biting her tongue and waiting to graduate when college wasn't necessarily in her future was a form of inaction. Working, saving money, starting her adult life—that was taking the initiative.

In cases like Susan's, American public education may be a victim of its own ambition. Rallying around the notion that every child should be prepared for higher educa-

tion, schools follow a general-education model that marches students through an increasingly uniform curriculum, with admission to college as the goal. But what happens when a 17-year-old decides, rightly or wrongly, that her road in life doesn't pass through college? Then the college-prep exercise becomes a charade. At Shelbyville High School, as elsewhere, the general-education model became an all-or-nothing game that left far too many students with nothing.

Two months ago, Susan told her mother Kathy Roan that she was dropping out. "I

The rush to cash in on dropouts has made such correspondence courses and "virtual high schools" the Wild West of secondary education, a multimillion-dollar industry that can offer a valuable second chance but has suffered at times from poor oversight and a dizzying array of self-styled accrediting institutions, many of which aren't recognized by mainstream colleges.

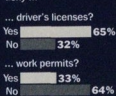
There is, not surprisingly, partisan division over the dropout problem. Liberals say dropouts are either a by-product of testing mania or an unavoidable result of public schools' being starved for funding.

**DROPOUTS** Nearly all view dropping out of high school as a major problem. But there's little consensus on what can be done about it. Few see lowering academic standards as an option; many want to see more vocational-training programs

How serious a problem is the dropout rate in the U.S.?



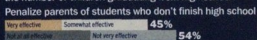
For dropouts younger than 18, should a state be allowed to deny ...



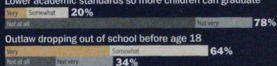
Should a student have the option of taking vocational education in high school to prepare for work rather than pursuing a college track?



How effective would these measures be to increase the number of children graduating from high school?



Lower academic standards so more children can graduate







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But more conservative reform advocates, like Marcus Winters, a senior research associate at the Manhattan Institute, disagree. "Spending more money just has not worked," he says. "We've doubled the amount we spend per pupil since the '70s, and the problem hasn't budged."

In Indiana, however, there is a bipartisan consensus about the state's latest anti-dropout measure. Shelbyville representative Messer, former head of the Indiana Republican Party, is no stranger to partisan politics, but his strongest partner in pushing for the measure was a liberal Democrat named Stan Jones, who is now the state's commissioner of higher education. The bill they championed had, fittingly, both carrot and stick. Students who drop out before age 18 could have their driver's license suspended or their work permit revoked unless their decision was first approved by a school or judge. But students who found the high school environment stifling could take classes at community colleges. The dual approach struck a chord, and both houses passed the bill unanimously.

Messer acknowledges that his law is no panacea. He's fond of saying he can't legislate away teenage mistakes. And indeed, Kentucky, Georgia and West Virginia have had similar laws on the books for a number of years, but critics say there's no proof that the laws have worked. Still, he says, "some kids are dropping out because it's easy and it's O.K. That is going to change."

On a national level, No Child Left Behind—the metric-heavy school reform that President Bush would like to expand in public high schools—was designed to make schools accountable for their dropout rates. But it hasn't been carried out very seriously. The Education Trust, an advocacy group for low-income and minority students, issued a scathing report in 2005 about how the Federal Government stood by while states handed in patently misleading graduation numbers: last year three states didn't submit any, and for many states, the figures were clearly inflated.

Secretary of Education Margaret Spellings tells TIME that much is being done to get better data on dropouts. She points to the National Governors Association resolution last year to set, for the first time, a common definition of a dropout that all states will use to report graduation rates to the Federal

## Arnold Sells His Road to Success

**B**Y THE AGE OF 15, ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER had discovered two of his enduring passions: He was interested in bodybuilding and "thought selling things was kind of cool," says the California Governor. So, as is common for high school students in Austria, where Schwarzenegger grew up, he enrolled in a training program for sales. "It inspired me," says the man who went on to hawk physical fitness and action movies. Lately, Schwarzenegger has been an enthusiastic marketer of vocational education, a combination of career training and academics offered in high school that has been in and out of favor in the U.S. since the 1970s.

Today vocational ed—or career tech, as it's commonly called—more often involves a computer mouse than a lathe. More than 15 million middle and high school and community-college students are enrolled, up 58% since 2000, in programs like biotechnology and computer networking. According to a 1998 University of Michigan study, high-risk students are eight to 10 times less likely to drop out if they enter a career-tech program. And the notion that career tech is useful only for the student with no college plans is outdated; students who have taken career tech enter college at the same rate as other high school graduates.



**HIS AVOCATION:** Schwarzenegger tours a technical high school in Fresno, Calif.

Some American high schools phased out vocational ed decades ago, when it was better known as shop class and was blamed for segregating—unintentionally or not—poor and minority students into low-paying careers. In his proposed budget this year, President Bush would eliminate all federal spending on vocational ed to pay for his No Child Left Behind high school initiatives, which are geared toward a precollege curriculum. But in his state budget this year Schwarzenegger is asking for \$50 million in new funds for high school vocational-ed programs. Last year he pushed through \$20 million in new funds. "I have talked to many kids who tell me they don't want to go to college, so why graduate?" says the Governor. "They don't see an end goal. They can't visualize it."

When Miriam Hernandez, 17, graduates in June from Clark Magnet High School in La Crescenta, Calif., she will know how to build a computer network, which qualifies her for a job earning about \$60,000 a year even before she attends California State University, Los Angeles, to continue studies she has begun in business. Nationally, fewer than 60% of Hispanic girls graduate from high school. But Hernandez, whose friends include several young moms, has been focused on opening a beauty salon, where she believes her computer training will come in handy. For an entrepreneurship class, she drew up a business plan and determined which loans she is eligible for as a Hispanic woman. "I want to get high school done," she says. "I have plans. I can see my future."

Some teens will do fine with a hazy idea of life after graduation. But others need an answer to the question Where am I going to use this? says Mike Seaton, who oversees the career-tech programs in the Glendale Unified School District. In a survey of California ninth- and 10th-graders released last week by the James Irvine Foundation, a nonprofit that awards grants to youths, 90% of students who don't like school said they would be more motivated by classes relevant to their future careers. Those students have many backers, including at least one eager salesman in Sacramento.

—By Rebecca Winters Keegan/La Crescenta

# Dropout Nation

## THE COMEBACK KID

Ryan Tindle, 21, at work at the VT Industries factory in Shelbyville, Ind. A onetime dropout, he returned to school after a yearlong stint in a juvenile-corrections facility. Now Tindle wants to go to college and study criminology

Government. But it's a nonbinding compact that five states, including Texas, California and Florida, didn't sign. And critics say the government is trying to slash funding for important support programs, including the Carl Perkins Act, which has funded vocational education across the country since 1984. Spellings says President Bush has proposed converting Perkins and other support programs like GEAR UP and Upward Bound into block grants for states to choose their own fixes. As long as states get results, says Spellings, "we're not going to prescribe particular programs or strategies like vocational education."

## 44 I WENT BACK WITH A FIFTH-GRADE EDUCATION. THAT WAS THE LAST TIME I HAD PAID ATTENTION IN SCHOOL. 77

Superintendent Adams believes he has come up with the right prescription for Shelbyville. The high school has established a credit lab, a sort of open study hall that lets at-risk kids recover credit from classes that they have failed. The principal at the elementary school is trying to identify at-risk kids in first grade. In the middle school, students are taking high school-graduation pledges, promising to be onstage with a diploma along with the rest of their class.

The district will also continue to support the Blue River vocational school, where more than 300 juniors and seniors spend their afternoons learning trades from nursing to marketing to auto-body repair. And there is a plan to build an alternative high school, which Adams envisions as a low-key place where, if they want to, kids can eat a doughnut while instant-messaging friends during loosely structured study hall, so long as they get their work done at some point. "Too many kids, at their exit interviews, say, 'I'm just done with this process—50 minutes, bell, 50 minutes, bell,'" says principal Zobel. "With the alternative school, I could give them an option, another environment to be in."

## THE COMEBACK KID

ON THE EDGE OF SHELBYVILLE'S OLD TOWN square, now a roundabout with a paved parking lot in the middle, there's a statue of one of central Indiana's most famous lit-



erary characters, a sort of Hoosier Huck Finn named Little Balser. The main character of *The Bears of Blue River*, a book for adolescents set in the woods of frontier-era Shelby County, Balser spends his days striking off into the wilderness, slaying countless bears (and even an Indian or two) and worrying his parents sick. He is the prototype of an American teenager, a combustible combination of independence and irresponsibility.

Ryan Tindle, 21, carried that legacy to his modern-day extreme. In middle school, he started ditching class, trying to escape a tough home life by ingratiating himself with older kids who played rough. So it was little surprise when he traveled the well-worn path of the troublemaker, dropping out of high school and promptly beating up an older kid so severely that Ryan was sentenced to a year at Plainfield Juvenile Correctional Facility. Once inside, one of the few times he picked up a pencil, he used it to stab another inmate in the hand. He felt that he had to prove himself, he says, after witnessing weaker kids being assaulted at the facility. The attack earned him a stint in isolation in Cottage 13—"the cage"—and that, says Ryan, is where he got religion about schooling.

"My family always thought I was going to be worthless," he says, "and for the first time, I saw they were right."

As soon as he was released, Ryan went


back to Shelbyville High School and asked to re-enroll. The Ryan Tindle that administrators knew, however, was nothing but grief. Wary administrators balked at letting him back in. He had to wait until a new principal arrived before he could convince the school that he was serious about his new leaf. But now he had to catch up quickly on a lot of lost years. "I went back with a fifth-grade education," he says. "That was the last time I had paid attention in school."

In the end, it took him nearly two years of a grueling schedule to finish what he started. From 7 a.m. to 3 p.m., he sat in class at the high school, then took three hours of night school for basic reading and math. To everyone's amazement, he finished.

Ryan is working hard these days. He wakes up before 5 every morning to go to his job at a car-parts factory, where he works on the line and earns less than \$10 an hour. On Saturdays and Sundays, he trains new employees at the local Arby's. In all, he takes home about \$23,000 a year. He would like to go to college someday, he says with a slightly embarrassed grin, to study criminology. He wants to be a cop.

For now, however, graduation is reward enough. He pulls a laminated card out of his wallet. It's his Shelbyville High School diploma, miniaturized. "I'll always be able to look at that diploma and smile,"

## > Nearly half of all dropouts ages 16 to 24 are unemployed



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# Dropout Nation

he says. "It's the best thing I've ever done."

If Ryan's redemption seems remarkable, that's because it is. According to a 2005 report from the Educational Testing Service, the company that runs the SATs, federal funding for second-chance programs, such as the night school Ryan attended, dropped from a high of \$15 billion in the late 1970s to \$3 billion last year. Yet the stakes in the struggle to get students to graduate are higher than ever: an estimated 67% of prison inmates nationwide are high school dropouts. A 2002 Northeastern University study found that nearly half of all dropouts ages 16 to 24 were unemployed.

Finding good work is only getting harder for dropouts in the era of the knowledge-based economy and advanced manufacturing. Knauf Insulation is Shelbyville's largest employer, with more than 800 workers. Salaries start at \$16.50 an hour, and the benefits at this German company are, well, positively European. In one of its factories along the Blue River, a row of mammoth 2400° furnaces spin the plant's secret recipe of sand, soda ash, borax and limestone into billions of billowy glass fibers, which will be cooled, packed and cut into battens of fiber-glass insulation. The workers running the furnaces are the last of a dying breed: people holding good jobs who never earned a high school diploma. Thirty years ago, the men came from as far away as the hills of Kentucky and proved themselves steady workers. Today they earn as much as \$60,000 a year.

It's a fine life, but these days high school dropouts need not apply. Even a GED is not sufficient for a job here anymore. Take a tour of the factory floor, and the main reason is clear. Some workers—entry-level employees—stand at their stations and pluck irregular pieces of fiber glass from the line. It's mostly mindless labor, but the giant whirling belts and chomping insulation cutters are run by adjacent computer terminals called programmable-logic controllers. When the floor boss goes on a coffee break, it's the floor workers who must operate the controllers. In today's factories, no worker is more than a boss's coffee break away from needing at least some computing skills. And now more than ever, says Knauf president Bob Claxton, the company wants to invest in the continuing education of its workers so they can keep up with new technologies—an investment that might not be worth making if those workers lack high school basics.

## 5 Things Schools Can Do

### TEACH READING EARLY

**1** Third-graders who can't read well begin a downward spiral of frustration. Early literacy programs keep them ahead of the game.

### CREATE ALTERNATIVE HIGH SCHOOLS

**2** A choice of learning environments can help kids who are struggling in regular schools.

### SPOT FUTURE DROPOUTS

**3** Most dropouts telegraph their intentions by repeatedly skipping classes. Early identification of at-risk kids allows schools to intervene in time.

### SUPPORT VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

**4** Many dropouts never see the connection between school and later life. Vocational education gives students real-world skills.

### GET THE GROWNUPS INVOLVED

**5** It's a long road to graduation. Students can't get there without the support of a parent or mentor.

But the firm's requirement of a high school diploma is as much about a mindset as it is about a skill-set, says Claxton. A diploma "shows that these applicants had the discipline to gut out a tough process," he says. "They learned how to get along with people, some of whom they may not have liked so well, in order to achieve their goals." A GED, he says, doesn't prove they can do that.

Even the dropouts who do land factory jobs can find work tougher than they thought. A relative helped Christine Harden, 18, find work in a local car-parts factory four months after she dropped out of Shelbyville High. But she has to get up at 4:30 a.m. to make the first shift every day, and she says her back is killing her. "All my friends who are thinking about dropping out, I tell them, 'Don't do it,'" she says. "This is real life out here. It's not easy."

### THE LONE HOLDOUT

I MET SHAWN STURGILL'S PARENTS IN THE living room of their ranch-style home

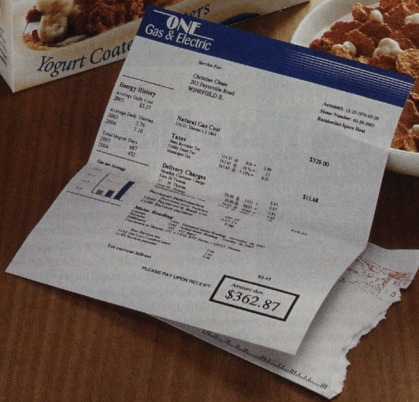
around the corner from Shelbyville's cemetery. At age 15, Shawn's father Steve, with a child on the way, dropped out of high school and then spent more than a decade battling drug abuse. He was born again six years ago, he says, patting the thick wooden cross around his neck. He has been clean since and has a high-paying job burying fiber-optic cables. But his turnaround came too late to be a model for his three older children, two of whom dropped out of school.

Shelbyville schools are performing triage on Shawn's education. For much of the day, he is in credit lab, working at his own pace to recover classes he has failed. Every afternoon he goes to the Blue River school, where he is enrolled in auto-body-repair courses.

Shawn has a tough road ahead of him. Though he will attend his class's graduation ceremony to watch his peers get diplomas, he won't be on stage, at least not yet. Even the school's efforts to speed up his credit recovery haven't been enough, so he will have to return for a fifth year at Shelbyville High. It's no fun for a 19-year-old to be in high school. Shawn is already a big guy who doesn't like to draw attention to himself.

But Shawn's hopes are bolstered by his plan. Auto-body work is not just a passing fancy for him—even when he's not at the vocational school, he is working on his Camaro, which most recently needed a new bumper. His favorite TV show, of course, is *Pimp My Ride*. He wants to save for tuition at Lincoln Technical Institute in Indianapolis so he can continue to develop his auto-sculpting skills. He rattles off the industry rates—car painters make an hourly wage of \$22, collision techs \$17—and he wants to get there. So he laughs it off every time somebody asks him in the hallway, "Hey, you're still in school? I would have thought you'd drop out by now."

Shawn's friends who have dropped out are, for the most part, struggling. A couple of them got their GED and are working in factories, but others are shuffling through menial jobs—one works at the car wash, another is washing dishes. A few, says Shawn, aren't doing much of anything except playing video games at their parents' houses. But Shawn says he is serious about not becoming a part of their dropout nation. "I've already went and put 12 years into this thing," he says. "There's no use throwing it all away." ■



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**THE BOSS:** Defense Secretary Rumsfeld greets soldiers in Fallujah, Iraq, last December

**Lieut. General Greg Newbold (Ret.)**

## Why Iraq Was a Mistake

A military insider sounds off against the war and the “zealots” who pushed it

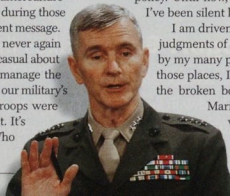
*Two senior military officers are known to have challenged Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld on the planning of the Iraq war. Army General Eric Shinseki publicly dissented and found himself marginalized. Marine Lieut. General Greg Newbold, the Pentagon's top operations officer, voiced his objections internally and then retired, in part out of opposition to the war. Here, for the first time, Newbold goes public with a full-throated critique:*

**I**N 1971, THE ROCK GROUP THE WHO RELEASED THE ANTIWAR anthem *Won't Get Fooled Again*. To most in my generation, the song conveyed a sense of betrayal by the nation's leaders, who had led our country into a costly and unnecessary war in Vietnam. To those of us who were truly counterculture—who became career members of the military during those rough times—the song conveyed a very different message. To us, its lyrics evoked a feeling that we must never again stand by quietly while those ignorant of and casual about war lead us into another one and then mismanage the conduct of it. Never again, we thought, would our military's senior leaders remain silent as American troops were marched off to an ill-considered engagement. It's 35 years later, and the judgment is in: the Who had it wrong. We have been fooled again.

From 2000 until October 2002, I was a Marine Corps lieutenant general and director of operations for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. After 9/11, I was a witness and therefore a party to the actions that led us to the invasion of Iraq—an unnecessary war. Inside the military family, I made no secret of my view that the zealots' rationale for war made no sense. And I think I was outspoken enough to make those senior to me uncomfortable. But I now regret that I did not more openly challenge those who were determined to invade a country whose actions were peripheral to the real threat—al-Qaeda. I retired from the military four months before the invasion, in part because of my opposition to those who had used 9/11's tragedy to hijack our security policy. Until now, I have resisted speaking out in public. I've been silent long enough.

I am driven to action now by the missteps and misjudgments of the White House and the Pentagon, and by my many painful visits to our military hospitals. In those places, I have been both inspired and shaken by the broken bodies but unbroken spirits of soldiers, Marines and corpsmen returning from this war. The cost of flawed leadership con-

**A CHALLENGE** Newbold urges military leaders to raise dissenting views on Iraq







tinues to be paid in blood. The willingness of our forces to shoulder such a load should make it a sacred obligation for civilian and military leaders to get our defense policy right. They must be absolutely sure that the commitment is for a cause as honorable as the sacrifice.

With the encouragement of some still in positions of military leadership, I offer a challenge to those still in uniform: a leader's responsibility is to give voice to those who can't—or don't have the opportunity to—speak. Enlisted members of the armed forces swear their oath to those appointed over them; an officer swears an oath not to a person but to the Constitution. The distinction is important.

Before the antiwar banners start to unfurl, however, let me make clear—I am not opposed to war. I would gladly have traded my general's stars for a captain's bars to lead our troops into Afghanistan to destroy the Taliban and al-Qaeda. And while I don't accept the stated rationale for invading Iraq, my view—at the moment—is that a precipitous withdrawal would be a mistake. It would send a signal, heard around the world, that would reinforce the jihadists' message that America can be defeated, and thus increase the chances of future conflicts. If, however, the

Iraqis prove unable to govern, and there is open civil war, then I am prepared to change my position.

I will admit my own prejudice: my deep affection and respect are for those who volunteer to serve our nation and therefore shoulder, in those thin ranks, the nation's most sacred obligation of citizenship. To those of you who don't know, our country has never been served by a more competent and professional military. For that reason, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's recent statement that "we" made the "right strategic decisions" but made thousands of "tactical errors" is an outrage. It reflects an effort to obscure gross errors in strategy by shifting the blame for failure to those who have been resolute in fighting. The truth is, our forces are successful in spite of the strategic guidance they receive, not because of it.

What we are living with now is the consequences of successive policy failures. Some of the missteps include: the distortion of intelligence in the buildup to the war, McNamee-like micromanagement that kept our forces from having enough resources to do the job, the failure to retain and reconstitute the Iraqi military in time to help quell civil disorder, the initial denial that an insurgency was the heart of the opposition to occupation, alienation of allies who could have helped in a more robust way to rebuild Iraq, and the continuing failure of the other agencies of our government to commit assets to the same degree as the Defense Department. My sincere view is that the commitment of our forces to this fight was done with a casualness and swagger that are the special province of those who have never had to execute these missions—or bury the results.

Flaws in our civilians are one thing; the failure of the Pentagon's military leaders is quite another. Those are men who know

the hard consequences of war but, with few exceptions, acted timidly when their voices urgently needed to be heard. When they knew the plan was flawed, saw intelligence distorted to justify a rationale for war, or witnessed arrogant micromanagement that at times crippled the military's effectiveness, many leaders who wore the uniform chose inaction. A few of the most senior officers actually supported the logic for war. Others were simply intimidated, while still others must have believed that the principle of obedience does not allow for respectful dissent. The consequence of the military's quiescence was that a fundamentally flawed plan was executed for an invented war, while pursuing the real enemy, al-Qaeda, became a secondary effort.

There have been exceptions, albeit uncommon, to the rule of silence among military leaders. Former Army Chief of Staff General Shinseki, when challenged to offer his professional opinion during prewar congressional testimony, suggested that more troops might be needed for the invasion's aftermath. The Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense castigated him in public and marginalized him in his remaining months in his post. Army General John Abizaid, head of Central Command, has been forceful in his views with appointed officials on strategy and micromanagement of the fight in Iraq—often with success. Marine Commandant General Mike Hagee steadfastly

challenged plans to underfund, understaff and underequip his service as the Corps has struggled to sustain its fighting capability.

To be sure, the Bush Administration and senior military officials are not alone in their culpability. Members of Congress—from both parties—defaulted in fulfilling their constitutional responsibility for oversight. Many in the media saw the warning

**"I NOW REGRET THAT I DID NOT MORE OPENLY CHALLENGE THOSE WHO WERE DETERMINED TO INVADE A COUNTRY... PERIPHERAL TO THE REAL THREAT."**

signs and heard cautionary tales before the invasion from wise observers like former Central Command chiefs Joe Hoar and Tony Zinni but gave insufficient weight to their views. These are the same news organizations that now downplay both the heroic and the constructive in Iraq.

So what is to be done? We need fresh ideas and fresh faces. That means, as a first step, replacing Rumsfeld and many others unwilling to fundamentally change their approach. The troops in the Middle East have performed their duty. Now we need people in Washington who can construct a unified strategy worthy of them. It is time to send a signal to our nation, our forces and the world that we are uncompromising on our security but are prepared to rethink how we achieve it. It is time for senior military leaders to discard caution in expressing their views and ensure that the President hears them clearly. And that we won't be fooled again. ■

# Mind to Body: Time for a Different Approach?



**H**ere's a different way to look at improving your health: the first thing you need to start exercising isn't your body—it's your mind. Because starting an exercise program takes willpower.

Need some encouragement? Research shows that regular physical activity could yield important benefits for almost everyone you know: women and men, seniors and youngsters, and for anyone concerned about a high cholesterol count. Talk to your doctor about an exercise program that's right for you.

And that's not all: exercise is not just good for the body, it's medicine for the spirit. Research is increasingly finding links between an active lifestyle and a positive outlook on life. Regular workouts could help raise your spirits, may improve your self-image, could even make you feel younger and stronger.

The hardest thing about starting to exercise is just that: starting to exercise. And, seeing results may take time. So keep your expectations realistic. Talk to your doctor, start off slowly, stretch before you get going—but get going!

Think you're too old? You're not: researchers have found that simple weight work could pay enormous dividends for those over 55. Think a simple walk can't be good for you? Wrong: walking at a good pace for 30 minutes a day can be terrific exercise. Think you don't look good in spandex? We won't argue that one: try sweats.

And don't forget that a good workout starts with a good diet. It's also as important to eat right as to exercise right. Talk to your doctor about a diet that's right for you.

Exercise is good for you. So to make a difference in your life, give your willpower—and your body—a workout.

## **Exercise: Talk to your doctor and find the level that's right for you**

### **Inactive**

- > Join a gym or find an exercise partner.
- > Walk on your lunch hour or coffee break.
- > Take the stairs instead of the elevator.

### **Mildly Active**

- > Exercise more often.
- > Explore new sports that interest you.
- > Create an exercise schedule—and stick to it.

### **Active**

- > Exercise 3–4 times a week—30 minutes a day.
- > Build large muscle groups by swimming or biking.
- > Vary your routine to avoid burnout.

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A healthy diet and exercise are important, but sometimes they're not enough to get your cholesterol where it needs to be. ZETIA complements those efforts, and when added to a healthy diet, is proven to lower bad (LDL) cholesterol by as much as 30 points—about 18%.\* These are average results. Individual results may vary. You should continue to eat right and stay active. But if that's not enough, ask your doctor if ZETIA is right for you.

\*In a study, starting from an average bad cholesterol of 167 mg/dL.

ZETIA has not been shown to prevent heart disease or heart attacks.

**Important information:** ZETIA is a prescription medicine and should not be taken by people who are allergic to any of its ingredients. If you have ever had liver problems, are nursing or pregnant or may become pregnant, a doctor will decide if ZETIA alone is right for you.

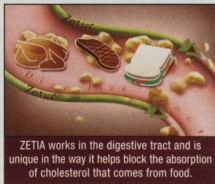
Unexplained muscle pain or weakness could be a sign of a rare but serious side effect and should be reported to your doctor right away. Common side effects included stomach pain and feeling tired.

For more information, call 1-800-98-ZETIA or visit [zetia.com](http://zetia.com).

Please read the Patient Product Information on the adjacent page.



To find out if you qualify, call 1-800-347-7503.



**Zetia<sup>®</sup>**  
(ezetimibe) Tablets

A different way to help fight cholesterol



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## ZETIA® (ezetimibe) Tablets

### Patient Information about ZETIA (zēt'-ē-ă)

Generic name: ezetimibe (ē-zēt'-ē-mīb)

Read this information carefully before you start taking ZETIA and each time you get more ZETIA. There may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment. If you have any questions about ZETIA, ask your doctor. Only your doctor can determine if ZETIA is right for you.

#### What is ZETIA?

ZETIA is a medicine used to lower levels of total cholesterol and LDL (bad) cholesterol in the blood. It is used for patients who cannot control their cholesterol levels by diet alone. It can be used by itself or with other medicines to treat high cholesterol. You should stay on a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking this medicine.

ZETIA works to reduce the amount of cholesterol your body absorbs. ZETIA does not help you lose weight.

For more information about cholesterol, see the "What should I know about high cholesterol?" section that follows.

#### Who should not take ZETIA?

- Do not take ZETIA if you are allergic to ezetimibe, the active ingredient in ZETIA, or to the inactive ingredients. For a list of inactive ingredients, see the "Inactive ingredients" section that follows.
- If you have active liver disease, do not take ZETIA while taking cholesterol-lowering medicines called statins.
- If you are pregnant or breast-feeding, do not take ZETIA while taking a statin.

#### What should I tell my doctor before and while taking ZETIA?

Tell your doctor about any prescription and non-prescription medicines you are taking or plan to take, including natural or herbal remedies.

Tell your doctor about all your medical conditions including allergies.

Tell your doctor if you:

- ever had liver problems. ZETIA may not be right for you.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Your doctor will decide if ZETIA is right for you.
- are breast-feeding. We do not know if ZETIA can pass to your baby through your milk. Your doctor will decide if ZETIA is right for you.
- experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness.

#### How should I take ZETIA?

- Take ZETIA once a day, with or without food. It may be easier to remember to take your dose if you do it at the same time every day, such as with breakfast, dinner, or at bedtime. If you also take another medicine to reduce your cholesterol, ask your doctor if you can take them at the same time.
- If you forget to take ZETIA, take it as soon as you remember. However, do not take more than one dose of ZETIA a day.
- Continue to follow a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking ZETIA. Ask your doctor if you need diet information.
- Keep taking ZETIA unless your doctor tells you to stop. It is important that you keep taking ZETIA even if you do not feel sick.

See your doctor regularly to check your cholesterol level and to check for side effects. Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start taking ZETIA with a statin and during treatment.

#### What are the possible side effects of ZETIA?

In clinical studies patients reported few side effects while taking ZETIA. These included stomach pain and feeling tired.

Very rarely, patients have experienced severe muscle problems while taking ZETIA, usually when ZETIA was added to a statin drug. If you experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness while taking ZETIA, contact your doctor immediately. You need to do this

promptly, because on rare occasions, these muscle problems can be serious, with muscle breakdown resulting in kidney damage.

Additionally, the following side effects have been reported in general use: allergic reactions (which may require treatment right away) including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swallowing, rash, and hives; joint pain; muscle aches; alterations in some laboratory blood tests; liver problems; inflammation of the pancreas; nausea; gallstones; inflammation of the gallbladder.

Tell your doctor if you are having these or any other medical problems while on ZETIA. For a complete list of side effects, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

#### What should I know about high cholesterol?

Cholesterol is a type of fat found in your blood. Your total cholesterol is made up of LDL and HDL cholesterol.

LDL cholesterol is called "bad" cholesterol because it can build up in the wall of your arteries and form plaque. Over time, plaque build-up can cause a narrowing of the arteries. This narrowing can slow or block blood flow to your heart, brain, and other organs. High LDL cholesterol is a major cause of heart disease and stroke.

HDL cholesterol is called "good" cholesterol because it keeps the bad cholesterol from building up in the arteries.

Triglycerides also are fats found in your blood.

#### General Information about ZETIA

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use ZETIA for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ZETIA to other people, even if they have the same condition you have. It may harm them.

This summarizes the most important information about ZETIA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your pharmacist or doctor for information about ZETIA that is written for health professionals.

#### Inactive ingredients:

Croscarmellose sodium, lactose monohydrate, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, povidone, and sodium lauryl sulfate.

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Mike Allen

# Inside Tom DeLay's Head

As he exits Congress, the troubled Texan speaks of pride, sin and grinning



SHORTLY before Representative Tom DeLay announced he would leave Congress by summer, half

a dozen advisers were on a conference call debating how to unveil their stunning secret. Suddenly, DeLay's Texas twang silenced the chatter. "Anybody wanna hear what I wanna do?" he asked mischievously.

Befitting a tactician and power broker who once ran the Capitol with equal parts guile and muscle, DeLay did it his way as he prepared to leave public life. He shunned the weepy contrition deployed by disgraced predecessors over the years and instead went out pummeling. He threatened to make one of his last acts an ethics complaint against Representative Cynthia McKinney, who later apologized for striking a Capitol Police officer. He said conservatives needed a new leader. He accused Democrats of "criminalizing politics." He said lobbying reform would be a sop to "the left." Although he has been indicted in Texas on money laundering and conspiracy charges, two of his former aides had admitted to committing crimes while on his payroll and federal authorities continue to investigate his relations with lobbyists, DeLay said he would have done nothing differently.

"I'm proud of my record," he said by phone while being driven to a golf course four

days after TIME.com broke the news that he was quitting. "I'm proud of the last 11 years of changing this country and, indeed, changing the world. Why would I feel bad about it?" DeLay first disclosed his plans to resign in a lengthy interview at his kitchen table in Sugar Land, Texas, a forum he chose because he wanted to lay out his thoughts in detail rather than try to break through the cacophony of a news conference. "I'm a realist, and I know politics," he said, referring to poll numbers

plan. He says he prayed repeatedly and even fasted, and made the final decision the day after receiving a thunderous response to a speech he gave in Washington at a War on Christians Conference on March 28. "The enemies of virtue may be on the march," he said, "but they have not won. And if we put our trust in Christ, they never will." He said the adulation convinced him he could do more good for the conservative movement on the outside than in government.

DeLay said he has not ruled out becoming a lobbyist, and friends would not be surprised if he went that route. "He has to make a living," one said. DeLay told TIME he also wants to be a campaign strategist and has ideas for new techniques that will allow Republicans to "sneak up on the Democrats, and they will never see what's coming."

DeLay, who was in Congress for 21 years, must still fight the Texas charges that cost him his post as majority leader last September. He will

be long remembered for the big grin he struck in his mug shot when he was booked. "I said a little prayer before I actually did the fingerprint thing and the picture," he said. "My prayer was basically, 'Let people see Christ through me. And let me smile.' Now, when they took the shot from my side, I thought it was the fakiest smile I'd ever given. But through the camera, it was glowing."

Asked if he had done anything illegal or unethical in office, he quickly replied no to each question. Asked if he had done anything immoral,

he gave the same answer and then caught himself. "Are you kidding?" he asked with a chuckle. "We're all sinners." DeLay said he has been overwhelmed by the outpouring from well-wishers—including, he said, some that "I really didn't expect even cared about me." But love has its limits. DeLay said he does not know of any Republicans who have invited him to appear with them on the campaign trail this fall.



DeLay last year after flying with the President, and, inset, in his booking photo

showing he could lose his November re-election race. "There's no reason to risk a seat. This is a very strong Republican district. It's obvious to me that anybody but me running here [as a Republican] will overwhelmingly win the seat."

The former pest-control entrepreneur says he had been contemplating a departure for months, and his struggle in last month's Republican primary helped cement his

Friends, who had been worried about DeLay's increasing stress and growing girth, say he feels liberated. He just turned 59, and he celebrated by having dinner with his pastor and attending a gala for child advocates, whose cause he has long supported. He plans an aggressive schedule of speeches to promote foster care, the infusion of Christian faith into public life and the election of Republicans to all offices, great and small.

# WHEN MURDER RUNS IN

By JOHN CLOUD

**R**EALLY IT'S A SAD STORY. THE Kissels are rich, or used to be, so it's tempting to savor the elaborate murders and betrayals the family has endured as a long lost episode of *Knots Landing*. But five young kids have lost their fathers, and paterfamilias William Kissel, 78, has lived through the killings of two of his three children. Hong Kong financier Robert Kissel, 40, was drugged and then bludgeoned to death by his wife Nancy in 2003, and now the other Kissel son, Andrew, a 46-year-old real estate developer, is dead after being stabbed at his rented mansion in Greenwich, Conn. "I haven't read the *Book of Job* yet, but I'm about to," William Kissel told the *New York Times* on April 3, the day Andrew's corpse was found.

Andrew Kissel once lived quite well—his 80-ft. Lazzara yacht has been valued at \$2.8 million—but he was also, according to his estranged wife and other accusers, a drinker, a thief and a liar. The Greenwich police department isn't saying much yet, which is understandable since its officers should be busy speaking to the many victims whom Kissel defrauded over the years. Last week he was set to admit in federal court that he had cheated financial companies out of millions of dollars. According to the *Times*, Kissel forged documents to pretend that he owned properties so that he could borrow against them. He also admitted pilfering millions of dollars from a Manhattan apartment building on whose board he once served. Kissel made good on that debt, paying the building back \$4.7 million, which included interest. But he still had to face fraud charges in the case from the Manhattan district attorney.

When Andrew's wife Hayley Wolff Kissel filed for divorce in February 2005, she found herself among an assortment of creditors vying for the couple's assets. She

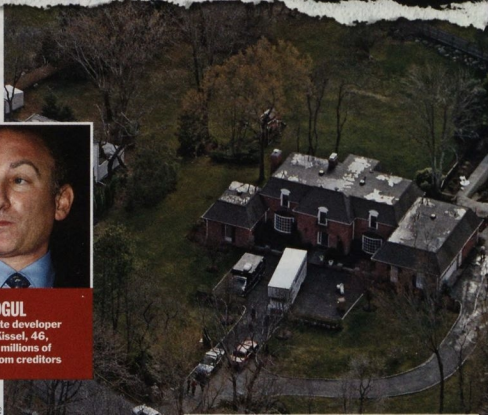


## THE MOGUL

Real estate developer Andrew Kissel, 46, swindled millions of dollars from creditors

BRITAN SMITH—ZUMA

THOMAS HUNTON—EPLAST NEWS



charged in court papers that her husband shielded \$111,000 from the sale of his classic-car collection (which included a \$420,000 1957 Mercedes) by requesting that the checks be cut to a former employee. Obtaining her share of the couple's assets "has been time-consuming, expensive, and frustrating," Hayley Kissel said in a motion filed a few weeks ago. Authorities had confined Andrew to the couple's home, but she said in the motion that he "had been belligerent, especially while intoxicated" and that he had been drinking in front of their daughters, ages 9 and 6. She also noted that her once high-flying husband was seeking alimony from her.



## THE SCENE OF THE CRIME

Andrew Kissel's body is removed from the posh Greenwich, Conn., estate he and his wife had rented

DOUGLAS HEALEY—THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Kissels were in the process of moving from the Greenwich home the weekend Andrew was murdered. Their landlord, Jean Wurtz, had filed a lawsuit saying the couple hadn't paid the \$14,300 rent for six months; the Kissels had subsequently agreed to move out by March 31. The



# THE FAMILY

Robert Kissel was beaten to death in 2003. Now his brother Andrew is dead in tony Greenwich. They left behind many questions



## THE WIDOW

Hayley Wolff Kissel, who was divorcing Andrew, complained about his belligerence and drinking

her children and trying to help them cope with the loss of their father," says lawyer Joseph Martini. According to Martini, Kissel's father asked his son's widow to stay

away from Andrew's funeral. "She plans to make other arrangements so that her children can say goodbye to their father," he says.

For a time Andrew Kissel and his wife also cared for Robert and Nancy's three kids. Nancy Ann Kissel is serving a life sentence for sedating her husband with a doctored milkshake and then beating him to death with a metal figurine from the kitchen. Nancy Kissel

claimed at her trial that her husband abused alcohol and cocaine and repeatedly forced anal sex on her, but she also admitted having an affair with a Vermont TV repairman. After Andrew ran afoul of the law, a Stamford, Conn., judge granted custody of the three kids to the Kissel brothers' sister Jane Clayton of

Mercer Island, Wash.

By week's end, the whodunit speculation had turned to Andrew Kissel himself. The *Times* reported that Kissel had an insurance policy worth \$15 million for the benefit of his dependents; Kissel may have believed that if he were dead, that money would be available only to his children, not his creditors. (Where the money goes will surely end up in litigation.) It would have been a near impossible suicide, but perhaps Kissel arranged his own hit? "If he did, it's the most incredibly unselfish thing that anybody could do," William Kissel told the *Times*. After so many selfish years, it would be a sort of noble ending for Andrew Kissel.

—Reported by Johnny Dwyer/Greenwich

movers didn't actually arrive until the next day. According to the *Times*, the Kissels bickered in front of them. (The paper quoted Hayley Kissel telling one of the movers, "He's going to jail anyway.") Monday morning, when the J.B. Moving employees went back to finish the job, they found Andrew's body in the blood-spattered basement. His hands and feet were bound, and his T shirt had been pulled over his head. There were no signs the killer or killers had to force their way in, police say.

Greenwich police chief James Walters told reporters the day after the body was discovered that investigators had interviewed Hayley Kissel and that she had been cooperative. The widow spoke only through her attorney. "She right now is focused on

## THE MILKSHAKE MURDER



Nancy Kissel in a Hong Kong court

## THE CRIME

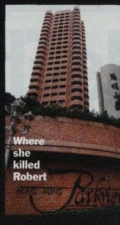
The body of Hong Kong financier Robert Kissel was found in a storeroom in November 2003. He had been beaten to death

## THE MOTIVE

Nancy Kissel admitted killing her husband after drugging him with a milkshake. But she said Robert had sexually abused her

## THE PUNISHMENT

Nancy was convicted and is serving a life sentence



Where she killed Robert



# Is Ehud Olmert Feeling Lucky?

An intimate look at Israel's surprising new Prime Minister and his ambitious (and risky) plan for peace

By ROMESH RATNESAR JERUSALEM

**I**T'S JUST PAST 11 ON A BRILLIANT JERUSALEM morning, and Ehud Olmert is sitting down for breakfast. Olmert lives on a serene block in the city's German Colony, in an airy three-story town house decorated with canvases painted by his wife Aliza. As Olmert serves cucumber salad and Aliza offers to make omelettes—to go with the smoked salmon, roasted vegetables, olives and cheese—it's easy to forget that the couple across the table is the most powerful in Israel. Easy, that is, until you spot the six-person security detail posted outside the



has spent his life in the public eye, first emerging as a young corruption fighter in the Israeli parliament and later serving as mayor of Jerusalem. In 2003, he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister under Ariel Sharon, but few Israelis thought Olmert had much chance to succeed his boss, given Olmert's image as a remote, high-living elitist. As recently as March 2005, just 13% of Israelis in a poll wanted Olmert for their leader. But his prospects began to turn last fall, when Sharon deserted the right-wing Likud Party to form the cen-

## **"Winning the lottery is easier to contemplate than Ehud becoming Prime Minister," says Yossi Sarid**

**AT HOME** "I don't hate the good life," says Olmert, in his Jerusalem kitchen

trist Kadima. Six weeks later, a stroke put Sharon in a coma, leaving Olmert to take over as acting government head and party leader. In last month's general election, Kadima won more seats in parliament than any other party, cementing Olmert's claim as Prime Minister—and capping a run of political fortune that has left counterparts numb with disbelief and possibly jealousy. "Winning the lottery is easier to contemplate than Ehud ever becoming Prime Minister," says Yossi Sarid, formerly of the left-wing Meretz Party, who has known Olmert for 30 years. "But being lucky is very important. And to be Prime Minister of Israel, you need a little luck."

Olmert needs all the luck he can get. His biggest challenge will be to sustain support for a campaign promise that involves evacuating thousands of Israeli settlers from the West Bank, completing a wall to separate Israel from the Palestinians and establishing new borders—all within four years. Olmert's team calls the idea "convergence": it would amount to the

first large-scale uprooting of Israeli citizens from the West Bank since the territory was captured in 1967. Olmert told *TIME* that he expects the post-convergence map to be "very close to what may be the final borderlines" between Israel and the Palestinians—a notion that outrages Palestinians, since Olmert also says he intends to hold on to the largest Israeli settlements in the West Bank. And the plan could spark further ugly confrontations between the government and settlers. All that turmoil would test the fortitude of an experienced, popular leader like Sharon—let alone a man who, according to a pre-election poll, only 1 in 8 Israelis say they would like to

have over for dinner. But those who know Olmert say such opposition only fuels his determination. "Even if it gets tough, he'll keep going," says a former adviser. "He's committed, and he believes in his plan. And I think he believes he can deliver exactly what he has said."

In a two-hour interview last week, Olmert betrayed little uncertainty about the job ahead. "I've been working 33 years to reach this minute," he says. "I am where I'm supposed to be." Olmert is rangy and barrel-chested, with a long, sallow countenance that makes him look as if he is in a constant state of mourning. In person, he exudes a relaxed, back-slapping warmth, but even those close to him say he can get prickly. "He always has to have the last word," says Etti Livni, a former Knesset member and close friend. Says Aliza: "He's a hunter. It's hard to win an argument with him. But how many times can you lose an argument and still be Prime Minister?"

Unlike Sharon, who would conduct freewheeling gabfests with his aides without ever settling on a course of action, Olmert insists on reaching decisions at the end of each meeting. His stamina is honed by daily six-mile runs; someone who has advised both men says that "by 5 a.m. Olmert knows everything, because he has read all the papers on the Internet. I don't think Sharon knew how to turn on a computer." But Olmert shares Sharon's preoccupation with the survival of the Jewish state and an abiding skepticism in the Palestinians' willingness to accept that. "He mistrusts them," says Livni. "I don't think he's optimistic about a dialogue that will lead to an end to the conflict."

Olmert is a scion of the Israeli right, which long subscribed to the vision of creating "Eretz Yisrael," extending from the

front door. And until Olmert starts talking. "A friend who has known me for 25 years told me that I look so well prepared for the job that it's unbelievable—as if I've prepared for it all my life," Olmert says, slathering eggplant on a piece of pita bread. "And in a way he's right. I know some of the professional experts had other forecasts. But I knew that one day I would become Prime Minister."

Olmert is not a humble man. In a country where leaders typically make their mark on the battlefield, Olmert has distinguished himself more by relentless self-assurance and urbane tastes, which run from Cuban cigars to effluent designer ties. At 60, he



Mediterranean Sea to the banks of the Jordan River. Olmert's father served in the Knesset in the 1950s as a member of the Herut Party, a forerunner of the right-wing Likud. Ehud studied law at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and was elected to the Knesset in 1973 as the youngest Likud member. Olmert launched crusades against corruption in professional soccer and, later, against organized crime. Israelis credit Olmert's generation with bringing transparency to the clubby, Old World atmosphere of Israeli politics. "We changed the rules of play," says Sarid.

But rather than continuing to fight the system, Olmert joined it. In 1977 he opened a private law firm, using his influence to attract wealthy clients. The law practice made him rich—"I don't hate the good life," Olmert says—but his ties to the business community landed him in the middle of numerous scandals, including a case stemming from the 1988 election campaign in which he was accused of conspiring with other Likud officials to skirt campaign-finance restrictions. Though he was acquitted in 1997, Olmert gained a reputation for cynicism. As Jerusalem mayor, he initiated improvements such as a light-rail system but ran up huge deficits and bequeathed the city a legacy of half-finished development projects. In 1996, he pushed for the opening of a tunnel beneath the contested Temple Mount, a move that sparked clashes between police and Palestinians that left 80 dead.

The violence was a harbinger of the second Palestinian *intifada*, during which Jerusalem withstood a regular onslaught of suicide bombings. "I've seen more attacks and more blood than any political leader anywhere," Olmert says. "There were attacks in almost every corner of the city. I've met with dozens of victims. It's something that comes back to me time and time again." Olmert says the experience "re-emphasized the need for separation" from the Palestinians.

That meant throwing support behind the idea of evacuating settlements in the occupied territories, a position long championed by Israeli doves, including Aliza Olmert. She says she voted for her husband's party for the first time last month. "The situation made right-wingers like Ehud realize that sooner or later we had to

negotiate, or in the worst case act unilaterally," says Aliza. "And the experience of living with someone like me, with a lefty-oriented position, can be powerful." When Olmert steps away from the table, Aliza says Ehud's frequent absence from home made their five children gravitate toward her views—a claim that Olmert doesn't dispute. "This is an open house," he says. "There wasn't one dominant voice heard here."

In 2003, at Sharon's prodding, Olmert agreed to run again for the Knesset. Though Olmert was only 34th on the Likud's list of candidates, a reflection of his weakness in the party, Sharon made him Deputy Prime Minister. In that role Olmert acted as Sharon's foil, floating trial balloons before Sharon signed on to them—the most

lateral moves. But withdrawing from the West Bank, which is home to 230,000 settlers, may prove more wrenching than it was in Gaza. "Sharon never meant to go as far as Olmert is proposing," says Natan Sharansky, a former Cabinet member who left Sharon's government to protest the Gaza pullout. "But this is Olmert's unique chance to prove his leadership."

It won't be the only one. The Hamas-run Palestinian government said last week it will be unable to pay the salaries of 140,000 Palestinians this month without an immediate infusion of aid. Olmert has refused to turn over \$50 million in tax revenues Israel collects on behalf of the Palestinians and has ruled out negotiations with the government unless Hamas renounces terrorism and recognizes Israel. But the prospect of a humanitarian crisis in the Palestinian territories may force Israel to soften its position on Hamas. Olmert told TIME he is meeting with aides "to see what we can do" to assist the Palestinians through non-governmental organizations without giving money to Hamas. And Olmert might still face U.S. resistance to his plan to evacuate some West Bank settlements if it looks as if he is trying to retain bigger ones and draw Israel's final borders in the process—which Palestinian leaders such as President Mahmoud Abbas say would leave a future Palestinian state



**UN-SETTLED** Olmert has promised to evacuate thousands of West Bank settlers, like this woman in Amona, but faces domestic opposition

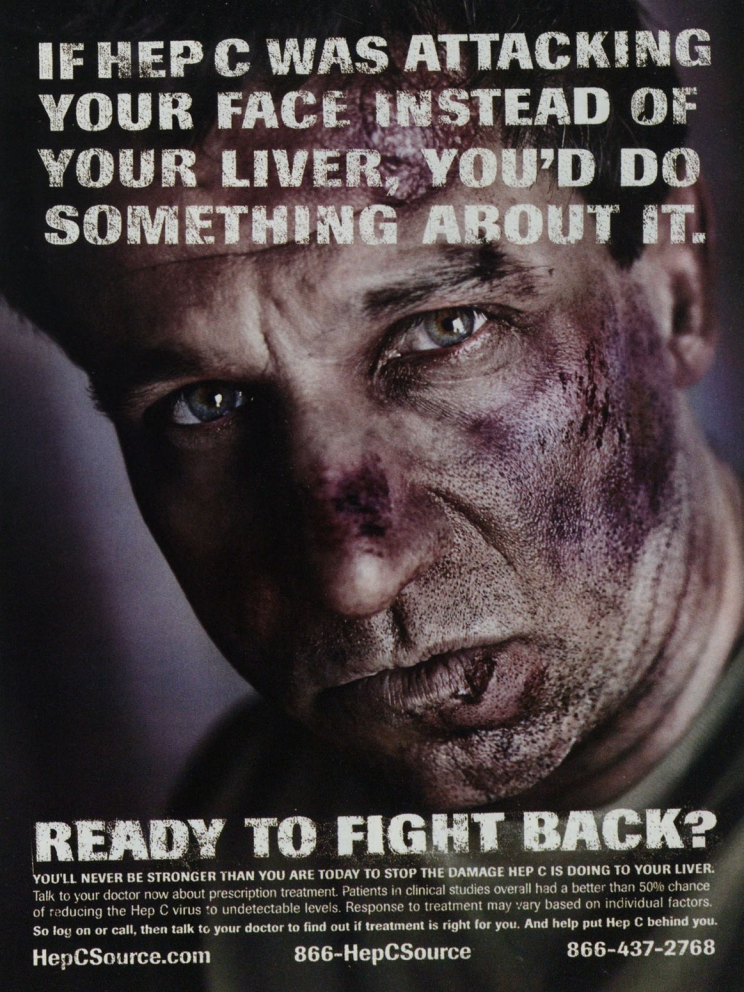
notable being the plan to evacuate settlers from the Gaza Strip last year, an idea first proposed by Olmert in a newspaper interview in 2003. But despite Olmert's loyalty, friends say, he never felt accepted by the Israeli leader. Sharon excluded Olmert from high-level meetings at his ranch in the Negev desert; a close ally of Olmert's who asked not to be named says Olmert even talked of quitting the government. Olmert calls Sharon "a hero," but he has stopped paying visits to Sharon in the hospital. "I want to remember him the way he really was, not as an 80-year-old man, lying in bed helpless and unconscious."

Olmert's desire to step out of his predecessor's shadow may have influenced his campaign pledge to initiate a withdrawal from parts of the West Bank by 2010. After the relative success of the Gaza pullout and the rise to power of Hamas in the Palestinian territories, many Israelis have abandoned faith in peace negotiations with the Palestinians in favor of uni-

lateral moves. "He and the President need to sit down, and we need to understand what his vision is," says a senior Administration official. "At that point, we'll be able to make judgments about what that means for us."

And what will it mean for Israel? As Aliza clears the food, Olmert outlines his ambition to find an end to the long struggle with the Palestinians—even if that means, after years of failed negotiations, that Israel ends the struggle on its own. The goal "is to come to a point where we are back where we belong, we have secured our existence, and it's time for us to be like other countries, living in peace," he says. "If God wanted me to be here, he wanted me to be here for this." With that, Olmert gets up from the table and goes back to work. —With reporting by Aaron J. Klein and Tim McGirk/Jerusalem and Matthew Cooper and Elaine Shannon/Washington

To read more of the interview with Prime Minister Ehud Olmert, go to [time.com](http://time.com)



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PHOTO ESSAY

# The Long Walk Home

Six months after the devastating earthquake in Kashmir, thousands are still living on the edge. An intimate look at their extraordinary fight to survive

Photographs for **TIME** by Yuri Kozyrev

**I**N KASHMIR, IT HAS BEEN HALF A YEAR SINCE THE world turned upside down. Buildings crumbled, villages slipped off mountainsides, and lakes formed where rivers once flowed. The 7.6-magnitude earthquake that hammered northern Pakistan and India on Oct. 8, 2005, took some 75,000 lives, injured 130,000 and left nearly 3.5 million people without food, jobs or homes—refugees in their own land. Almost overnight, scores of tent villages bloomed across the region, tended by international aid organizations, military personnel and jihadi groups working furiously to shelter the survivors before the onslaught of winter.

Mercifully, the season was mild. Fears of a second wave of death and suffering due to the cold proved unfounded. But with the advent of spring, the refugees are about to be uprooted again. Camps that provided health care, food, shelter and education for 150,000 survivors have begun to close. Pakistani officials and aid groups say the camps were never intended to be permanent. They fear that maintaining them could create dependency that the government can't afford. And so an exodus has begun. A steady stream of broken families has taken to the roads leading back to ancestral villages. They will rejoin relatives left behind to tend the remaining livestock and guard piles of rocks that once were homes.

For many, the thought of going back brings mixed emotions, says Dr. Tahir Abbas, an aid worker with Focus, a local nongovernmental organization affiliated with the Aga Khan Foundation. The past six months have been difficult. Families of as many as 10 people have had to shelter under a single tent and share cookstoves and bathing facilities with



## REBUILDING

▲ Recovery workers carry metal sheets delivered by a World Food Program helicopter to the remote mountain village of Chakliyan

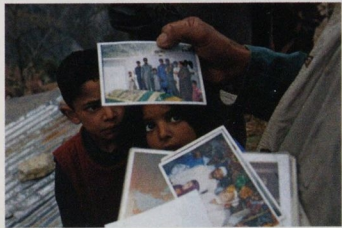
## LIFE AMID THE RUINS

▲ Insha Afsar, 7, who lost a leg when her house collapsed on it during the quake, navigates rocky terrain at the Chella Bandi tent camp near Muzaffarabad, Pakistan

## FACES OF THE LOST

► Abid Hussain, near right, and Zahida Bibi watch as their uncle looks at photos of relatives who died when the quake hit the family's home village of Bagaah





neighbors. Privacy is elusive. "They are looking forward to the clean water of their rivers," Abbas says. "They are dreaming of fresh fruit that can be had for free from the trees. They want to get back to their herds and start farming again." But most will be returning to nothing but rubble. In many villages, electrical lines have not been repaired, nor have roads. Aid workers estimate that it will take years to rebuild what the earthquake took away. And for

the thousands of survivors—many of them children, left maimed and bereft by the destruction—the recovery will never be complete.

Yet the survivors have to start somewhere. Returnees have already begun picking through the devastation to see what can be salvaged. New homes can be built from the stones, bricks and beams of old ones. "Spring is coming," says Abbas. "It's a good time to start again." —**By Aryn Baker/Islamabad**



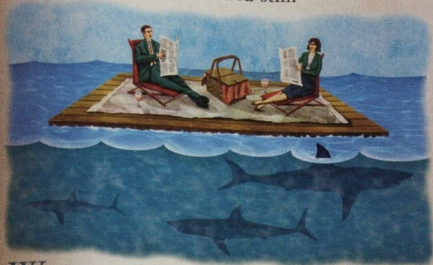
#### BROKEN SPIRITS

▲ Shahnaz, 20, a resident of the Bus Stand camp in Muzaffarabad, has been suffering from mental problems since October's disaster. She and other quake survivors were next hit with a Kashmiri winter. More than 2 million people faced the elements in tents or crude shelters patched together from ruined homes

#### SEEKING SHELTER

◀ Refugees cook outside their tent at a temporary camp. With the camps being dismantled, many survivors face an even less certain future

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# Our Cousin The Fishapod

An ancient fish with primitive fingers fills an evolutionary gap and shows Darwin's theory in action

By J. MADELEINE NASH

THE V-SHAPED BONE TURNED OUT TO BE the lower jaw of a fish, but not any fish Neil Shubin had ever seen. The University of Chicago paleontologist had been chipping his way through an ancient rock formation in an icy drizzle near Bird Fjord on Canada's Ellesmere Island last July when one of his colleagues pointed to a wall of red siltstone and exclaimed, "What's that?"

That, as Shubin and his colleagues reported last week in a pair of articles in *Nature*, was part of a creature that grew to at least 9 ft. in length and lived some 375 million years ago, just at the point in evolutionary history when fish were giving rise to the four-legged animals known as tetrapods. And indeed, the creature was a little of each, for along with a fish's scales, fangs and gills, it had anatomical features usually found only in animals that spend at least some of their time on land. It is, in short, exactly the sort of transitional animal Darwinian theory predicts, with new physical traits gradually emerging to help it thrive in a novel environment. And it has become scientists' Exhibit A in their long-running debate with creationists and other antievolutionists who have been using the lack of such missing-link organisms to argue that Darwin's theory is wrong.

It will be hard to explain away the "fishapod," as Shubin and his team nicknamed their find. Unlike a true fish, it had a

broad skull, a flexible neck, and eyes mounted on the top of its head like a crocodile. It also had a big, interlocking rib cage, suggesting that it had lungs and did at least part of its breathing through them, as well as a trunk strong enough to support itself in the shallows or on land. And most startling of all, when technicians dissected its pectoral fins, they found the beginnings of a tetrapod hand, complete with a primitive version of a wrist and five fingerlike bones. "This is not some archaic branch of the animal kingdom," says Shubin. "This is *our* branch. You're looking at your great-great-great-great cousin!"

What really fascinates scientists about the fishapod is that it fits so neatly into one of the most exciting chapters in the history of life—when creatures that swam in seas and rivers gave rise to things that walked, ran and crept on land. The fishapod appears to be a crucial link in the long chain that over time led to amphibians, reptiles, dinosaurs, birds and mammals. Indeed, *Tiktaalik roseae*, the official name bestowed on the fishapod (in the language of the local Inuit, *tiktaalik* means "large fish in stream"), falls anatomically between the lobe-finned fish *Panderichthys*, found in Latvia in the 1920s, and primitive tetrapods like *Acanthostega*, whose full fossil was recovered

380 million years ago

## BEFORE TIKTAALIK

Lobe-finned fish had forelimbs suitable for moving in water but not on land



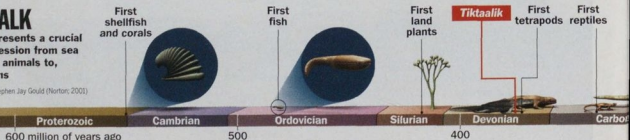
in Greenland not quite two decades ago.

Together, these fossils have overturned the old picture of the fish-tetrapod transition, which conjured up the image of creatures like the modern lungfish crawling out of water onto land. That picture certainly didn't fit *Acanthostega*, whose short, flimsy legs were ill equipped

## A LONG WALK

The fishapod represents a crucial step in the progression from sea creatures to land animals to, eventually, humans

Source: The Book of Life by Stephen Jay Gould (Norton; 2001)



375 million  
years ago

#### TIKTAALIK

The forelimbs had the beginnings of fingers and a wrist, wrapped inside a fin

360 million  
years ago

#### AFTER TIKTAALIK

Tetrapod forelimbs have wrists and digits used for crawling on land

#### BURIED IN STONE

This fishapod fossil, left, is one of several specimens ranging in length from 4 ft. to 9 ft.

#### A BIG ADVANTAGE

The fishapod could use its primitive arms to boost itself off riverbeds and peek above the water's surface to look for prey

TIME illustration  
and graphic by  
Ed Gabel

Source: Neil Shubin,  
University of Chicago



for terrestrial locomotion. Rather, according to University of Cambridge paleontologist Jennifer Clack, *Acanthostega* was an aquatic creature that used its limbs and lungs to make a living in water. And that scenario makes sense because it sets up conditions for natural selection—the force that powers evolution—to favor transitional life-forms like the fishapod, with its funny wrist and five digits encased in the webbing of a fin.

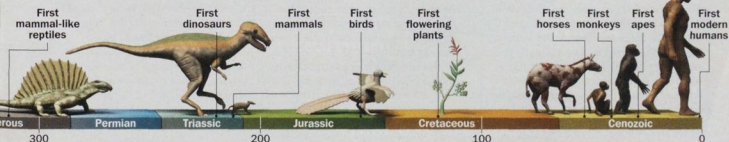
On land, observes Shubin's collaborator Ted Daeschler, chair of vertebrate zoology at Philadelphia's Academy of Natural Sciences, such an appendage would have been worse than useless. But it would have been more

than adequate for propping the animal's head above the water so that it could survey its surroundings or for anchoring it underwater as it waited to ambush its prey. The advantage of being able to gulp air through lungs as well as gills would likewise have been immediate, given that the fishapod made its home in warm, shallow waters that were frequently rendered inhospitable by decaying vegetation.

The fishapod was among the pioneering organisms to take advantage of an ecological frontier—the marshy floodplains of large rivers—that opened between 410 million and 356 million years ago during the Devonian period, known as the Age of Fishes. Early in

the Devonian, the continents were mostly masses of bare rock with just a fringe of plants “no taller than your ankle,” as Daeschler puts it, growing along the wet margins of rivers and streams. By the late Devonian, however, thick vegetation had taken hold in marshes, fens and floodplains, and mosses, ferns and trees had coalesced into the world's first forests.

Those archaic plants prepared the way for the tetrapods. The plants created new aquatic habitats by stabilizing the banks of rivers and streams. They pumped



Michael J. Novacek

# Darwin Would Have Loved It

## What his theory predicted—and why it matters

oxygen into the atmosphere, making the earth habitable for large, air-breathing creatures. And they shed organic debris that formed the basis of a new food chain. Bacteria, fungi and small arthropods (the animal group that includes crustaceans and insects) moved in to feed on the debris; small fish moved in to eat the arthropods; bigger fish moved in to eat the small fish. Among them were the fishapod's lobe-finned ancestors, which found in the vegetation-clogged shallows abundant food and relative safety from predators.

Because characteristics like limb development are governed by powerful families of genes known as Hox genes, the fishapod's curious mix of features intrigues developmental biologists as much as it does paleontologists. Recent experiments on mice by University of Geneva geneticist Denis Duboule and his colleagues, for example, show that Hox genes control limb development in two stages. "Even though the same genes are involved," says Duboule, "separate processes govern the development of arms and legs and the development of hands and feet."

It all depends on how and when the genes are turned on by a segment of DNA that acts like a switch. Fish have a version of that switch too. For example, Zebrafish (ray-finned fish that split off from the lineage that led to lobe-fins early in the Devonian) have only part of the sequence, whereas coelacanth (lobe-fins closely related to lungfish) have a lot more of it. And the fishapod, presumably, had even more.

None of that comes as a surprise to most biologists. Even the scientists who invoke "intelligent design" to explain life's diversity concede that transitional creatures have been showing up in the fossil record for quite some time. "The argument that there are no transitional forms," says Kenneth Miller, a Brown University biologist and staunch defender of evolution, "has been untenable for at least two decades."

But the lack of missing links is still part of the antievolution rhetoric circulating on the Internet. "Some people will never be convinced," says paleontologist Michael Novacek, provost of science at the American Museum of Natural History in New York City (see box). "But discoveries like this are valuable because there are people who are still undecided about evolution. This gives us an opportunity to educate them." And if not with this discovery, then maybe with the next one. "The fishapod," says Miller, "is one more piece of a rapidly filling jigsaw puzzle. And every couple of years, we put another important piece in place." —With reporting by Michael D. Lemonick/New York

THEY WERE ONCE REGARDED AS deceptions planted by evil spirits, but fossils eventually came to be recognized as Exhibits A, B and C of the history of life. Those stony specimens are the only direct evidence of what happened in the eons since the first rudimentary cells emerged on Earth some 3.6 billion years ago.

Unfortunately, the fossil record is incomplete, as Charles Darwin himself realized. He surely would have been delighted to see the riveting discoveries made by paleontologists in the subsequent century and a half. These new fossils eloquently reinforce his conviction that "endless forms most beautiful and most wonderful have been, and are being, evolved." The iconic winged *Archaeopteryx*, as well as newly described feathered fossils from China, show the transition from dinosaurs to their only living descendants, birds. Fossil whales with limbs demonstrate the evolutionary steps some mammals took to return to the sea.

Now there is new and powerful evidence in *Tiktaalik* for the steps that backbone animals took to crawl out of the sea in the first place. Many who reject evolution in favor of divine creation claim that the fossil record doesn't contain the so-called transitional species anticipated by Darwin's theory. This ancient, walking fish is yet more evidence that such an argument is simply wrong; all sorts of missing links preserved in exquisite detail have been and will be discovered.

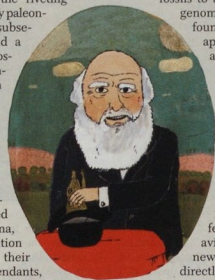
Is the discovery of *Tiktaalik* a pivotal moment that profoundly shifts the balance in the tension between

those who accept evolution and those who question it? Probably not. Those who regard creationism as dogma will probably remain unmoved by any manner of scientific evidence. For those who are uncertain, however, the fishapod may be a source of enlightenment, a demonstration that we can recover ancient clues to events clearly predicted by the theory of evolution.

That theory is the framework for all modern biology, from the study of fossils to the mapping of the genome, but it is also profoundly practical in application. Scientists are debating the likelihood and timing of a horrific pandemic caused by avian flu. Those who worry about that possibility and reject evolution live in a world of contradiction. If the H5N1 virus, the ineffective agent for avian flu, adopts a new lifestyle and moves directly from one human host to another, it would be because it evolved that capacity.

Indeed, evolutionary theory shapes both our health and our future. As Darwin noted, the survival of each species depends on how well it fits into changing environments. We know that ecosystems are changing on a global scale. As documented by the fossil record, some species in the past thrived under new conditions, while others, ill adapted to change, went extinct. Who will be the winners in the hot, deforested, carbon dioxide-enveloped world of the future? It won't necessarily be us. ■

Novacek is a curator of paleontology and the provost of science at New York's American Museum of Natural History







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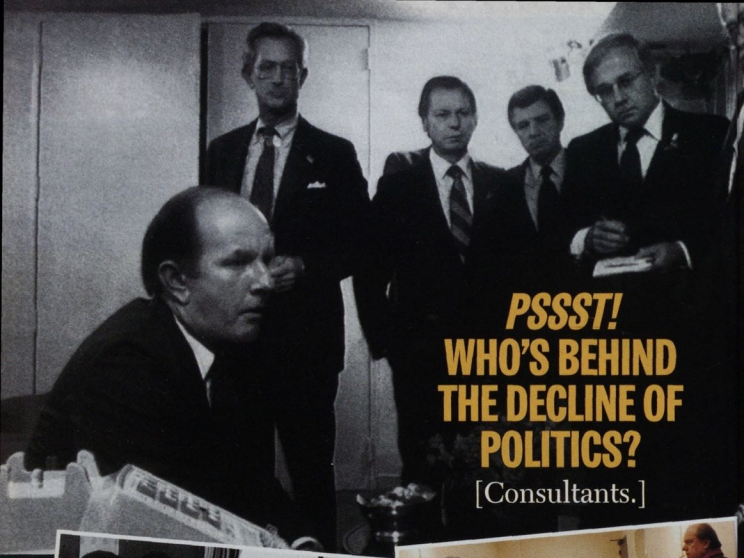
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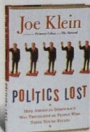
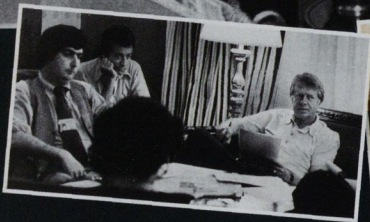
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# **PSSST! WHO'S BEHIND THE DECLINE OF POLITICS?**

[Consultants.]



ON THE EVENING OF APRIL 4, 1968, ABOUT AN hour after Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, Robert F. Kennedy responded with a powerfully simple speech, which he delivered spontaneously in a black neighborhood of Indianapolis. Nearly 40 years later, Kennedy's words stand as an example of the substance and music of politics in its grandest form and highest purpose—to heal, to educate, to lead. Sadly, his speech also marked the end of an era:

the last moments before American public life was overwhelmed by marketing professionals, consultants and pollsters who, with the flaccid acquiescence of the politicians, have robbed public

Consultants have drained a good deal of the life from our democracy ... Specialists in caution, they fear anything they haven't tested

**INNER CIRCLE** Reagan aide Mike Deaver sits nearby as the candidate makes calls during the 1980 G.O.P. Convention; Carter strategizes with Caddell and others in a New York City hotel in 1976; Kerry and Shrum confer before a 2004 debate; Bush and Rove campaign in Iowa in 1999

"and that is that Martin Luther King was shot and was killed tonight in Memphis, Tennessee."

There were screams, wailing—just the rawest, most visceral sounds of pain that human voices can summon. As the screams died, Kennedy resumed, slowly, pausing frequently, measuring his words: "Martin Luther King... dedicated his life... to love... and to justice between fellow human beings, and he died in the cause of that effort." There was near total silence now. One senses, listening to the tape years later, the audience's trust in the man on the podium, a man who didn't merely feel the crowd's pain but shared it. And Kennedy reciprocated: he laid himself bare for them, speaking of the death of his brother—something he'd never done publicly and rarely privately—and then he said, "My favorite poem, my favorite poet was Aeschylus. He once wrote, 'Even in our sleep, pain which cannot forget falls drop by drop upon the heart,'" he paused, his voice quivering slightly as he caressed every word. The silence had deepened, somehow; the moment was stunning. "Until... in our own despair, against our will, comes wisdom through the awful grace of God."

Listen to Kennedy's Indianapolis speech on TIME.com and there is a quality of respect for the audience that simply is not present in modern American politics. It isn't merely that he quotes Aeschylus to the destitute and uneducated, although that is remarkable enough. Kennedy's respect for the crowd is not only innate and scrupulous, it is also structural, born of technological innocence: he doesn't know who they are—not scientifically, the way post-modern politicians do. The audience hasn't been sliced and diced by his pollsters, their prejudices and policy priorities cross-tabbed, their favorite words discovered by carefully targeted focus groups. He hasn't been told what not to say to them: Aeschylus would never survive a focus group. Kennedy knows certain things, to be sure: they are poor, they are black, they are aggrieved and quite possibly furious. But he doesn't know too much. He is therefore less constrained than subsequent generations of politicians, freer to share his extravagant humanity with them.

"Television," Walinsky said many years after his Kennedy apprenticeship, "has ruined every single thing it has touched." There was some puckishness to this—he was talking about professional basketball, if I remember correctly—but Walinsky is a serious man and he wasn't really joking. Yes, television has been a wondrous thing. Vast numbers of people now watch presidential debates, State of the Union messages, prime-time press conferences, not to mention terrorist attacks, hurricanes and wars in real time. But television also set off a chain reaction that transformed the very nature of politics. "This is the beginning of a whole new concept," said a very young Roger Ailes as he stage-managed Richard Nixon's 1968 presidential campaign. "This is the way they'll be elected forevermore. The next guys up will have to be performers." Television brought other changes as well. Suddenly, politicians were able to use televised advertising to communicate in a more powerful and intimate (and negative) way than ever before—and suddenly politicians had to raise vast sums of money to pay for those ads. Television demanded transparency, and so the rules of politics had to change as well: no more selection of presidential candidates in smoke-filled rooms. Hubert Humphrey, in 1968, was the last Democrat to win his party's nomination without winning the most votes in the primaries.

Most politicians tend to be cautious, straitlaced people.



life of much of its romance and vigor.

Kennedy, who was running for the Democratic presidential nomination, had a dangerous job that night. His audience was unaware of King's assassination. He had no police or Secret Service protection. His aides were worried that the crowd would explode as soon as it learned the news; there were already reports of riots in other cities. His speechwriters Adam Walinsky and Frank Mankiewicz had drafted remarks for the occasion, but Kennedy rejected them. He had scribbled a few notes of his own. "Ladies and gentlemen," he began, rather formally, respectfully. "I'm only going to talk to you just for a minute or so this evening because I have some very sad news..." His voice caught, and he turned it into a slight cough, a throat clearing,

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: REITAN—CORBIS; BROOKS SHAW—CORBIS FOR TIME; GARY SHURT—CORBIS FOR TIME; AP



**A TIDY OPERATION** Bush aide McKinnon, here in July 2000, found few power struggles on the campaign

Confronted by the raging television torrent, by the strange new theatrics of public performance, which makes every last word or handshake a potentially career-threatening experience, they sought creative help to navigate the waters. And so, the pollster-consultant industrial complex was born. By 1976, the process had been turned upside down. A politician most Americans had never heard of—Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia—won the Democratic nomination, and then the presidency. Ronald Reagan nearly defeated the incumbent President Gerald Ford for the Republican nomination. Carter's pollster, a 26-year-old named Patrick H. Caddell, gave him precise poll-driven instructions about how to conduct himself as President. To be successful, Caddell wrote, Carter would have to run a permanent campaign.

Some of my best friends are consultants. They tend to be the most entertaining people in the political community: eccentric, fanatic, creative, violently verbal and deeply hilarious—the sort of people who sat in the back of the room in high school and shot spitballs at the future politicians sitting up front. But their impact on politics has been perverse. Rather than make the game more interesting, they have drained a good deal of the life from our democracy. They have become specialists in caution, literal reactionaries—they react to the results of their polling and focus groups; they fear anything they haven't tested.

In early 2003, I had dinner with several of the consultants who advised Al Gore in the 2000 presidential campaign. I asked them why Gore, a passionate environmentalist, had spent so little time and energy talking about the environment during the campaign. Because we told him not to, the consultants said. Why? I asked. Because it wasn't going to help him win. "He wanted to talk about the environment," said Tad Devine, a part-

ner in the firm of Shrum, Devine & Donilon, "and I said to him, 'Look, you can do that, but you're not going to win a single electoral vote more than you now have. If you want to win Michigan and western Pennsylvania, here are the issues that really matter—this is what you should talk about.'"

Gore won Michigan and Pennsylvania, but he lost an election he should have won, and he lost it on intangibles. He lost it because he seemed stiff, phony and uncomfortable in public. The stiffness was, in effect, a campaign strategy: just about every last word he uttered—even the things he said in the debates with George W. Bush—had been market-tested in advance. I asked Devine if he'd ever considered the possibility that Gore might have been a warmer, more credible and inspiring candidate if he'd talked about the things he really wanted to talk about, like the environment. "That's an interesting thought," Devine said.

But apparently not as interesting as all that: Devine, Bob Shrum and Mike Donilon fitted Senator John Kerry for a similar straitjacket in the 2004 campaign. In some ways, the Kerry campaign was even worse. After all, the Senator was a student of politics. He had spent his entire life hankering for the presidency. And then he proceeded to make precisely the same mistake as Gore, allowing himself to be smothered by his consultants. Perhaps the worst moment came with the Bush Administration torture scandal: How to respond to Abu Ghraib? Hold a focus group. But the civilians who volunteered for an Arkansas focus group were conflicted; ultimately, they believed the Bush Administration should do whatever was necessary to extract information from the "terrorists." The consultants were unanimous in their recommendation to the candidate: Don't talk about it. Kerry had entered American politics in the early 1970s, protesting the Vietnam War, including the atrocities committed by his fellow soldiers in Vietnam. But he followed his consultants' advice, never once mentioning Abu Ghraib—or the Justice Department memo that "broadened" accepted interrogation techniques—in his acceptance speech or, remarkably, in his three debates with Bush.

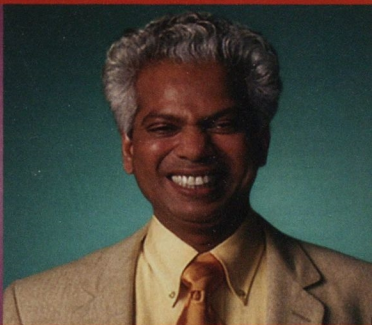
"We're going to meet the voters where they are," Shrum had told me early in the Kerry campaign, which sounded innocent enough—but what he really meant was, We're going to follow our polling numbers and focus groups. We're going to emphasize the things that voters think are important. In fact, Shrum had it completely wrong. Presidential campaigns are not about "meeting the voters where they are." They are about leadership and character. Mark Mellman, Kerry's lead pollster, figured that out too late. "If you asked people what they were most interested in, they would say jobs, education and health care," he later said. "But they



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Generic name: ezetimibe/simvastatin tablets

Read this information carefully before you start taking VYTORIN. Review this information each time you refill your prescription for VYTORIN as there may be new information. This information does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or your treatment. If you have any questions about VYTORIN, ask your doctor. Only your doctor can determine if VYTORIN is right for you.

## What is VYTORIN?

VYTORIN is a medicine used to lower levels of total cholesterol, LDL (bad) cholesterol, and fatty substances called triglycerides in the blood. In addition, VYTORIN raises levels of HDL (good) cholesterol. It is used for patients who cannot control their cholesterol levels by diet alone. You should stay on a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking this medicine.

VYTORIN works to reduce your cholesterol in two ways. It reduces the cholesterol absorbed in your digestive tract, as well as the cholesterol your body makes by itself. VYTORIN does not help you lose weight.

## Who should not take VYTORIN?

Do not take VYTORIN:

- If you are allergic to ezetimibe or simvastatin, the active ingredients in VYTORIN, or to the inactive ingredients. For a list of inactive ingredients, see the "Inactive ingredients" section at the end of this information sheet.
- If you have active liver disease or repeated blood tests indicating possible liver problems.
- If you are pregnant, or think you may be pregnant, or planning to become pregnant or breast-feeding.

VYTORIN is not recommended for use in children under 10 years of age.

## What should I tell my doctor before and while taking VYTORIN?

**Tell your doctor right away if you experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness. This is because on rare occasions, muscle problems can be serious, including muscle breakdown resulting in kidney damage.**

The risk of muscle breakdown is greater at higher doses of VYTORIN.

The risk of muscle breakdown is greater in patients with kidney problems.

Taking VYTORIN with certain substances can increase the risk of muscle problems. It is particularly important to tell your doctor if you are taking any of the following:

- cyclosporine

- danazol
- antifungal agents (such as itraconazole or ketoconazole)
- fibric acid derivatives (such as gemfibrozil, bezafibrate, or fenofibrate)
- the antibiotics erythromycin, clarithromycin, and telithromycin
- HIV protease inhibitors (such as indinavir, nelfinavir, ritonavir, and saquinavir)
- the antidepressant nefazodone
- amiodarone (a drug used to treat an irregular heartbeat)
- verapamil (a drug used to treat high blood pressure, chest pain associated with heart disease, or other heart conditions)
- large doses ( $\geq 1$  g/day) of niacin or nicotinic acid
- large quantities of grapefruit juice (>1 quart daily)

It is also important to tell your doctor if you are taking coumarin anticoagulants (drugs that prevent blood clots, such as warfarin).

Tell your doctor about any prescription and nonprescription medicines you are taking or plan to take, including natural or herbal remedies.

Tell your doctor about all your medical conditions including allergies.

Tell your doctor if you:

- drink substantial quantities of alcohol or ever had liver problems. VYTORIN may not be right for you.
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. Do not use VYTORIN if you are pregnant, trying to become pregnant or suspect that you are pregnant. If you become pregnant while taking VYTORIN, stop taking it and contact your doctor immediately.
- are breast-feeding. Do not use VYTORIN if you are breast-feeding.

Tell other doctors prescribing a new medication that you are taking VYTORIN.

## How should I take VYTORIN?

- Take VYTORIN once a day, in the evening, with or without food.
- Try to take VYTORIN as prescribed. If you miss a dose, do not take an extra dose. Just resume your usual schedule.
- Continue to follow a cholesterol-lowering diet while taking VYTORIN. Ask your doctor if you need diet information.
- Keep taking VYTORIN unless your doctor tells you to stop. If you stop taking VYTORIN, your cholesterol may rise again.

## What should I do in case of an overdose?

Contact your doctor immediately.

## What are the possible side effects of VYTORIN?

See your doctor regularly to check your cholesterol level and to check for side effects. Your doctor may do blood tests to check your liver before you start taking VYTORIN and during treatment.

In clinical studies patients reported the following common side effects while taking VYTORIN: headache and muscle pain (see What should I tell my doctor before and while taking VYTORIN?).

The following side effects have been reported in general use with either ezetimibe or simvastatin tablets (tablets that contain the active ingredients of VYTORIN):

- allergic reactions including swelling of the face, lips, tongue, and/or throat that may cause difficulty in breathing or swallowing (which may require treatment right away), rash, hives; joint pain; alterations in some laboratory blood tests; liver problems; inflammation of the pancreas; nausea; gallstones; inflammation of the gallbladder.

Tell your doctor if you are having these or any other medical problems while on VYTORIN. This is not a complete list of side effects. For a complete list, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

## General Information about VYTORIN

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for conditions that are not mentioned in patient information leaflets. Do not use VYTORIN for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give VYTORIN to other people, even if they have the same condition you have. It may harm them.

This summarizes the most important information about VYTORIN. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your pharmacist or doctor for information about VYTORIN that is written for health professionals. For additional information, visit the following web site: [vymorin.com](http://vymorin.com).

## Inactive ingredients:

Butylated hydroxyanisole NF, citric acid monohydrate USP, croscarmellose sodium NF, hydroxypropyl methylcellulose USP, lactose monohydrate NF, magnesium stearate NF, microcrystalline cellulose NF, and propyl gallate NF.

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thought the President should be interested in national security."

In Austin, Texas, the political consultant Mark McKinnon watched the Gore and Kerry campaigns from a unique perspective. He had spent his life as a Democrat and now he was working, as a matter of personal loyalty, for his friend George W. Bush. Very much to his surprise—and to his wife's horror—McKinnon was in the midst of a conversion experience, not so much to the Republican philosophy but to the Republican way of doing campaigns. It was so much simpler. Maybe it was because Republicans were more businesslike and saw their consultants as employees, rather than saviors (and paid them accordingly—with a flat fee, rather than a percentage of the advertising buy). Maybe it was just the way Bush and Karl Rove went about the practice of politics. But this was, without a doubt, the tidiest political operation he'd ever seen. There was none of the back biting, staff shake-ups or power struggles that were a constant plague upon Democratic campaigns. There was little of the hand wringing about whether the shading of a position would offend the party's interest groups. Issues, in fact, seemed less important than they did in any given Democratic campaign. And McKinnon had come to a slightly guilty realization: maybe that was a good thing. Rove's assumption was that voters had three basic questions about a candidate: Is he a strong leader? Can I trust him? Does he care about people like me?

Politics was all about getting the public to answer yes to those three questions. Of course, an integral part of the job was aggressively—often stealthily and sometimes disgracefully—painting the opposition as weak, untrustworthy and effete. McKinnon was amazed the Democrats had never quite figured this out. In fact, they had it backward: the character of their candidate, they believed, would be inferred from the quality of his policies. But in the television era, fleeting impressions mattered far more than cogent policies. Presidential politics had been reduced to a handful of moments and gestures. In fact, the 2004 campaign came down to two sentences.

**Kerry:** "I actually voted for the \$87 billion [to fund Iraq] before I voted against it."

**Bush:** "You may not always agree with me, but you'll always know where I stand."

Presidential campaigns are, inevitably, about character. In 2004, at a moment of real national conse-

**IMPROMPTU SPEECH** Kennedy knew little about his Indianapolis audience when he told it of King's assassination

Listen to Kennedy's Indianapolis speech and there is a quality of respect for the audience that simply is not present in modern American politics

quence for the United States, character was expressed in the most limited, nonpositive way imaginable: I know you don't agree with me—in fact, most polls showed the public thought that Bush had taken the country in the wrong direction—but at least I'm telling some version of the truth as I sort of see it. Oh, and by the way, you can't trust a thing the other guy is saying. This was the clinching argument at a time of war in the world's oldest and grandest democracy.

Roger Ailes was right when he predicted at the beginning of the television era that in the future all politicians would have to be performers. But politicians are, for the most part, lousy performers. Their advisers are pretty awful at what they do too. In the absence of inspiration, they have fixed upon the crudest, most negative and robotic forms of communication. They've made moments like Robert Kennedy's in Indianapolis next to impossible.

Consultants are unavoidable, given the complexity of modern communications. But I have a vague hope that the most talented politicians now realize that the public has come to understand what market-tested language sounds like, and that there is a demand for leadership, as opposed to the regurgitation of carefully massaged nostrums. To be sure, the old tricks—the

negative ads, the insipid photo ops—still work, but only in the absence of an alternative. What might that be?

I hate predictions. Most pundits, like most pollsters, get their information by looking in the rearview mirror. But let me give 2008 a try. The winner will be the candidate who comes closest to this model: a

politician who refuses to be a "performer," at least in the current sense. Who speaks but doesn't orate. Who never holds a press conference on or in front of an aircraft carrier. Who doesn't assume the public is stupid or uncaring. Who believes in at least one major idea, or program, that has less than 40% support in the polls. Who can tell a joke—at his or her own expense, if possible. Who gets angry, within reason; gets weepy, within reason ... but only if those emotions are real and rare. Who isn't averse to kicking his or her opponent in the shins but does it gently and cleverly. Who radiates good sense, common decency and calm. Who is not afraid to deliver bad news. Who is not afraid to admit a mistake. And who, above all, abides by the motto that graced Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Oval Office: LET UNCONQUERABLE GLADNESS DWELL.







# Let's Roll

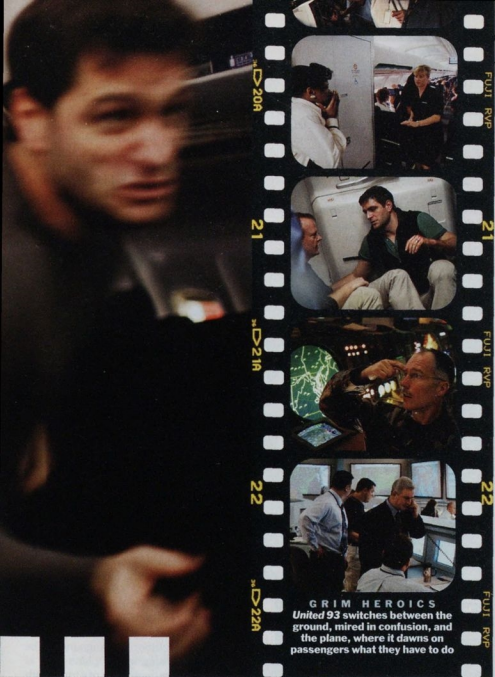
By RICHARD CORLISS



**O**N UNITED AIRLINES FLIGHT 93—OUT OF NEWARK, SCHEDULED FOR San Francisco, bound for history—34 passengers caught up on paperwork or dreamed their last dream. Four others were there on a mission. Forty-six minutes into the flight, one of them shouted in Arabic and brandished a bandolier of explosives. Another got into the cockpit, stabbing the pilot and co-pilot. A third seized the controls. Some of the captives, getting on phone lines, learned that two other planes had torpedoed into the World Trade Center. Realizing their doom, the passengers also found a mission. They stormed the hijackers, rammed their way into the cockpit and, to keep the plane from being one more missile aimed at a U.S. landmark, tried to wrest command of it.

PHOTO: BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

TIME gets the first look at *United 93*, the



**GRIM HEROICS**  
*United 93* switches between the ground, mired in confusion, and the plane, where it dawns on passengers what they have to do

Fourteen times.

That's how many times Paul Greengrass, writer-director of *United 93*, put his cast through the hijacking and ensuing heroics. On a set in suburban London's Pinewood Studios, where many James Bond fantasies have been filmed, Greengrass staged this real-life, high-stakes death battle over and over—the whole ordeal, nonstop, in takes lasting from 20 to 55 min., as the reconstructed Boeing 757 would wobble and shudder, and the camera crew followed the action like nosy paparazzi. Says Cheyenne Jackson, who plays Mark Bingham, one of the stalwart passengers:

"We spent so many hours throwing our trays around and bleeding and screaming and crying and praying, and throwing up and peeing ourselves, and trying to imagine every possibility of what these people were going through. It was an environment where we could go to these deep, dark places. But the saddest thing about it was that finally we could wash off our makeup and come out of those places."

He means that the passengers on the morning of Sept. 11, 2001, of course, could not come out; they crashed and died, along with the hijackers, in a field near Shanksville, Pa. But there are many Americans for

whom the dark place of a movie auditorium is a last refuge from reality. The trailer for *United 93* has upset viewers with its gritty evocation of that day, especially a shot of the plane hitting the second tower of the World Trade Center. Audiences who wouldn't flinch at slasher movies and serial-killer thrillers have shouted back at the previews. A multiplex in Manhattan yanked the trailer after complaints from patrons. Some were angry, some in tears. They felt violated to see, in the guise of entertainment, a pinprick reminder of a tragedy for which Americans still grieve and which they may wish to keep buried, along with the people and the image of national invulnerability lost that day.

Yet the events of 9/11, like a nightmare that haunts the waking, have permeated the media. Not just the all-news channels but also books, plays, songs. Michael Moore's political take, *Fahrenheit 9/11*, scared up \$119 million at the domestic box office, and ABC is preparing a mini-series based on *The 9/11 Commission Report*, with Stephen Root as terrorism czar Richard A. Clarke and Harvey Keitel as John O'Neill, the FBI's al-Qaeda sleuth who died in the World Trade Center carnage. *Flight 93*, a TV movie about the same events shown in *United 93*, reaped the A&E Network's all-time highest ratings and stoked no protests.

Perhaps those who saw the trailer didn't realize that this was the one flight, of the four hijacked that day, with an inspiring ending. This was the one on which the good guys, following passenger Todd Beamer's John Wayne-like invocation, "Let's roll," foiled the bad guys. The saga of this flight makes for, in 9/11 terms, a feel-good movie. Just as important, *United 93*, at which TIME was given an exclusive first look, is a good movie—taut and implacable—that honors the deeds of the passengers while being fair, if anyone cares, to the hijackers' jihad bravado. (At one point the passengers are heard murmuring the Lord's Prayer while the hijackers whisper their prayers to Allah.) If this is a horror movie, it is an edifying one, a history lesson with the pulse of a world-on-the-line suspense film.

Ready or not—and the pending release this week of the black-box tapes from the doomed flight suggests some kind of turning point—*United 93* opens around the country April 28, three days after its world premiere at the Tribeca Film Festival, within view of the still gaping Twin Towers site. Greengrass's film is the first of a few

**controversial film that is unbearable—and unmissable**

big-studio projects dealing with 9/11. *World Trade Center*, the account of two Port Authority policemen trapped beneath the towers' charnel rubble, follows in August. James Vanderbilt's screenplay for *Against All Enemies*, Clarke's contentious memoir of his career tracking terrorists, which begins with frenetic scenes in the White House on 9/11, is floating around Hollywood. Paul Haggis, fresh from his Oscar upset with *Crash*, has expressed interest in directing it.

*Against All Enemies* will get its juice from the spectacle of stratospheric double-dealing; there's more backstabbing than in *Hamlet*. *World Trade Center* promises to be a hymn to the courage and perseverance of Sergeant John McLoughlin (Nicolas Cage) and Officer Will Jimeno (Michael Pena). Jimeno was trapped in an elevator shaft for 15 hours, McLoughlin interred in rubble a few feet below Jimeno for 23 hours.

The days the two men visited the set—Howard Hughes' old airplane hangar near Marina del Rey, Calif.—McLoughlin, who had 30 surgeries that left braces on his legs and an open wound on his left hip, stayed away from the 65-ft. mound of Styrofoam beams and cargo boxes meant to represent ground zero. "I hate getting upset," he says. As soot-covered extras in police and military uniforms milled around, Jimeno was reduced to tears by the sight of the too-lifelike rubble pile. "I survived for a reason," he says. "We, as a country, have a short attention span. We don't want people to forget those who died and those who saved us."

Although the film's director is Oliver Stone, this is no paranoid panorama on the order of *JFK*. It's a boy-and-a-girl saga with, insists first-time screenwriter Andrea Berloff, "no politics. This is a small story. We're in the hole with these two guys for practically the whole movie." With the digging out comes the uplift. "I hope people will walk out of the theater and say to themselves, 'Life is short,'" Jimeno says, "and go home and hug their loved ones." Berloff has the same aim. "You don't want people leaving theaters slitting their wrists. I don't think the world is ready for the *Towering Inferno* version of 9/11. I don't know how you would make that movie."

These three films, in various stages of gestation, all look to be honest, fact-based depictions of a central American story. They also have recognizable movie antecedents. In the horror stories of history, Hollywood picks through the carnage to find heroes, and the makers of the 9/11 films have found a few. Clarke, in *Against All Enemies*, is the lonely sentinel begging a smug, slow-witted establishment to take al-Qaeda seriously. He's Frank Capra's Mr. Smith after 30 years in Washington, his stubborn zeal intact. Another species of hero is the lucky survivor; and as *Schindler's List* was not about the nearly 6 million Jews killed by the Nazis but about 1,100 who escaped, so *World Trade Center* focuses on two of the last victims

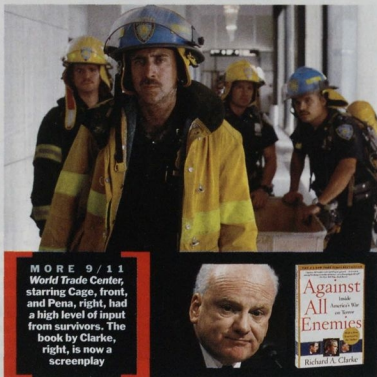
Ireland in 1972, and the gritty espionage film *The Bourne Supremacy*, "we all had to make decisions about the world we live in, about the courses of action that we take. This film is saying that, before we got to that, there was this event: this extraordinary work of fate, mired in confusion, with the passengers gaining knowledge of 9/11 as they went. What that did was create a debate on the plane: What are we going to do? Are we going to do nothing and hope for the best, or are we going to do something? What can we do? What will be the consequences of both courses of action? That is our post-9/11 debate." Which the doomed, defiant passengers had just a few minutes to comprehend and resolve—on the fly.

*United 93* is a meticulous reconstruction of that morning. Greengrass worked closely with the victims' families, who had already heard the black-box recordings, and the actors, who were improvising. Few events, either on the plane or in the air-traffic control centers, are underlined for effect. As Bingham's mother Alice Hoagland notes, "What happened on board Flight 93 has so much drama and pace, it needs no embellishment."

At the start of the film, before 93's takeoff, our knowledge of what is to come bestows a creepy portent, a sad, sick, helpless feeling, to banal intimacies and mundane activities. A simple cellphone "I love you" holds a lifetime of poignancy; the closing of the plane door is like the sealing of a tomb with live bodies inside.

In a film that, in its near finished state, runs about 105 min., it's 30 min. before Flight 93 is aloft, an additional 12 min. before the second plane hits the World Trade Center, a full hour before the hijackers seize control. For the viewer, the wait is rackingly tense, as real as a newsreel.

That is because, wherever possible, Greengrass cast people close to their roles. J.J. Johnson, who plays the captain of Flight 93, is a real United pilot. Trish Gates, who plays head flight attendant Sandy Bradshaw, was a real United flight attendant. Ben Sliney, who as national operations manager for the FAA kept track of the mounting atrocities, appears as himself. Lewis Alsamari, who plays one of the



**MORE 9/11**  
*World Trade Center*, starring Cage, front, and Pena, right, had a high level of input from survivors. The book by Clarke, right, is now a screenplay

FRANCIS DURANT—FRANCIS DURANT/BRIDGES; KATY—CORBIS

evacuated alive after the big buildings collapsed. As for the United 93 passengers—in movie terms, and in the life of the world—they are the first heroes of the 21st century.

"At 28 minutes past 9," says Greengrass of Sept. 11, "none of us were wondering What are we going to do? We were watching telly, wondering What the f--- is going on? The people on United 93 weren't doing that. They were looking at four guys. They knew exactly what was going on." Knowing of the World Trade Center attack, they could surmise that their own flight might be the next weapon.

"Subsequent to 9/11," says Greengrass, an Englishman who directed the superb docudrama *Bloody Sunday*, set in Northern



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# IMAGINING THEY WERE THERE

Except for Ben Sliney, the FAA national operations manager who plays himself, the actors had to infer how their characters behaved. Here are their thoughts:



TODD BEAMER



DAVID ALAN  
BASCHE ▼

**“I don’t think of ‘Let’s roll’ as a triumphant, rallying battle cry. It really was a few words in the middle of a few sentences.”**



CAPTAIN  
JASON DAHL



J.J. JOHNSON ▼

**“I was amazed at the speed of taking over that plane—how there was no chance. They were professional assassins.”**



ZIAD JARRAH



KHALID  
ABDALLA ▼

**“It’s a human event, and we have to present it with humanity and understanding. And if we don’t, we’re bastards.”**



BEN SLINEY



BEN SLINEY ▼

**“I got lost in the role. I told friends of mine that this was the most realistic air-traffic control portrayal they would ever see.”**



SANDY  
BRADSHAW



TRISH GATES ▼

**“United made a poster of the crew, and I didn’t know anybody, but I had always stared at Sandy Bradshaw’s picture. Don’t ask me why.”**



SAEED AL GHAMDI



LEWIS  
ALSAMARI ▼

**“If you are locked in a cage and you can’t get out and you want people to hear you, you start banging on the iron bars.”**

## MOVIES

hijackers, spent a year in the Iraqi army.

The actors playing the terrorists were kept segregated from those playing the passengers; they stayed in different hotels and did not meet until the hijack sequence was shot. Those actors had to deal with the violence on a more personal level. “We all came out with stuff that we’ve never seen in ourselves before,” says Jamie Harding, who describes his character, Ahmed Al Nami, by saying, “I do all the beating and hurting, although I don’t actually kill anybody.” Alsamari says he looked at a scene in the film in which he attacks the pilot and co-pilot, “and I had my hand on my mouth. I thought, I can’t believe someone could do that. It was like looking at somebody else.”

If the actors find *United 93* hard to take, what will an audience’s reaction be? Many people will certainly feel they’re not ready to see the film. And that’s fine. But it’s honorable and artful as a re-creation of history, and as a film experience it’s both unbearable and unmissable.

“Movies need to address the way the world is,” Greengrass says. “We have to tell stories about 9/11.” He also notes, “The victims’ families want this film made. Every single one of them.” (Universal, the studio producing the film, is donating 10% of the first weekend’s box-office gross to the Flight 93 National Memorial Fund.)

Hamilton Peterson, whose father and stepmother died on the flight and who serves as chairman of Families of Flight 93, sees two reasons America needs this film. “One, we’re proud of what these Americans did,” he says. “These are ordinary citizens who in a matter of minutes overcame what very evil and capable people had planned for years. The passengers took action without police or official support. They knew right from wrong, and they acted on it. Out of the dark of 9/11 came these heroes. And two, it is an example that future world citizens can learn from. If you remember Richard Reid, the shoe bomber, he tried to engage a very dangerous bomb and was thwarted by the bravery of the passengers and crew. Flight 93 served as a beacon for them. I don’t think you can reaffirm that message too often or too much.”

“I hope we’re not as a society inured to the messages of the movie,” says Hoagland. Those messages, of the hijackers’ terrible cunning and dedication, the passengers’ valor and sacrifice, are both timeless and timely. “I know it’s not too soon,” she says. “I hope it’s not too late.” —Reported by Clayton Neuman/New York and Rebecca Winters Keegan/Los Angeles

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imagination at work

COMEDY

FORGING THE FUTURE

INNOVATORS

# Beyond the Punch Line

Funny people finding new and more bizarre ways to make us laugh



## FLIGHT OF THE CONCHORDS

"Musical comedy sounds awful," says Bret McKenzie, right, with Jemaine Clement. "I guess I'd describe what we do as understated banter between weird songs." Very weird songs—including one that finds humor in business socks

# INNOVATORS

COMEDY

(Continued from previous page)

## DON'T MIND THEM. THEY'RE MUSICAL

THE  
GENIE  
COMICS

IN THE COMEDY JUNGLE, WHERE ROBIN WILLIAMS is a big silverback ape and Jon Stewart a sneaky hyena, *Flight of the Conchords* are tiny fawns. Their whimsical acoustic-guitar songs and gentle banter totter out on spindly legs to nibble at funny bones. The duo, who claim to be the "fourth most popular folk parodists in New Zealand," sing about the usual stuff—mistaken identity, killer robots, racist dragons—but with an earnest, blinking naïveté. It's a hemisphere away from the witty social commentary that reigns on America's comedy circuit. "I guess we're kind of nerdy hipsters," says Bret McKenzie (except he pronounces it "nurdy hupstas"). Jemaine Clement, on the other hand, prefers to describe their comedy as "awkward." The Conchords are about to take flight. An album is due this year, and the two are developing a sitcom for HBO. Meanwhile, you can catch Clement's seminal work on commercials for restaurant chain Outback Steakhouse. "Jemaine is more the blokey guy," says McKenzie. "I'd probably advertise fruit and vegetables." —By Belinda Luscombe

BAT  
MITZVAH  
GIRL

She stands nervously in front of a lectern, adopting the rote singsong of a 13-year-old giving her Bat Mitzvah speech. She thanks the rabbi and the relatives who came from Florida, Australia and "all the way from Century Village." She praises a Jewish upbringing that on holidays "gave me the opportunity to dress like a doily and sit in the corner in silent anger while the rest of my family discusses in a whisper whether or not I'm a lesbian." Rebecca Drysdale, it so happens, is gay (and does a nifty Dr. Seuss parody about how the butch and the femme lesbians learned to get along), but she resists the label some have tried to stamp on her. "That puts something first, besides funny," she says. "My show's about a hundred other things." Like, oh, AIDS and Hurricane Katrina—for which she devises cheery mock-folk songs—and *Brokeback Mountain*, which she turns into a video game. Drysdale, 27—who spent her grade-school years in

Versailles and Vancouver, B.C., and dropped out of Sarah Lawrence to sell T-shirts at Chicago's Second City (before joining the troupe)—is that rarity in the tired-out world of stand-up comedy: a real original. A hit at the 2005 Aspen Comedy Festival, she doesn't do traditional monologues, yet her parodies and character pieces are not (like a lot of Whoopi clones) so much about showing off her performing virtuosity as opening a window into her alienated soul. Giving an account in court of a near rape, she describes being followed down a street by a man, panicking when she realizes the only self-defense she knows is origami, then asking the guy out dancing. At the end of her new show at the Upright Citizens Brigade in New York City, she strips totally naked and mimes her entire pre-show shower ritual to the strains of Helen Reddy's *Candle on the Water*. "If I start writing something that smacks of something I've done before, I'll scrap it," she says. "If it doesn't surprise me, I'm bored with it." Rebecca Drysdale surprises. —By Richard Zoglin

## JOHN HODGMAN

An afternoon's worth of reading matter for the television, radio and print personality who is part master of erudition, part delusional intellectual authority figure



## TWEEDY, LITERATE AND VERY DRY

THE  
FAUX  
GENIUS

OTHER THAN GEORGE PLIMPTON, John Hodgman may have been the only boy who ever grew up wanting to be George Plimpton. "Here was an extremely talented writer and public intellectual who was not averse to having fun in his life," says Hodgman. "To asthmatic children in the world, those Intellivision ads he did were a beacon. There was a tweediness out there that I could be a part of."

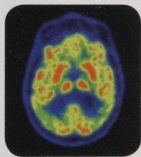
Like his idol, Hodgman, 34, has forged a career as an urbane literary figure and satirist of the urbanely literate. A Yale grad and former book agent, he has had a short story (edited by Plimpton) published in the *Paris Review* and writes nonfiction for the *New York Times Magazine*. But listen to the commentaries he gives as a resident expert on *The Daily Show* and you'll discover that one of the deadliest potential consequences of global warming is an unfrozen-caveman crime wave. Crack the spine of his faux atlas, *The Arcs of My Expertise*, and you'll learn of Frédéric Chopin's ladybug obses-

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#5



# The Naked Truth

## REBECCA DRYSDALE

She earned her stripes at *Second City* and was a big fan of *Ellen DeGeneres*. But, she says, "I don't want to be the next somebody else."

sion, Maine's state motto ("Remember the Maine!") and the Depression-era rebellion that resulted in Hobo Joe Junkpan's brief appointment as Secretary of the Treasury. In Hodgman's authoritative prose and hyperrational voice, the joke is that erudition can be a form of madness and that facts are just lies in tweed jackets.

Hodgman's humor requires a high cultural IQ. "I don't consider what I do comedy qua comedy," he says. "It's something much weirder." Nevertheless, his weirdness is in high demand, with gigs on NPR's *This American Life* and editing the *Times Magazine*'s new "Funny Pages" feature—in addition to *The Daily Show* and the sequel to *Expertise* he's writing. "Like Tintin, I'm not one to turn down a good adventure," says Hodgman. "Even when my drunken sailor companion begs me to just stay home in the chateau for once." —By Josh Tyrangiel

CATRINA GENOVESE FOR TIME

## TV WITHOUT

TAKING THE  
TALENT  
ONLINE

DAN HARMON and Rob Schrab don't hate television. They just hate the executives who run tele-

vision. And after creating what may be the most famous TV pilot that never aired—*Heat Vision and Jack* (1999), starring Ben Stiller, Jack Black and Owen Wilson—the impoverished writing duo took their revenge by starting an online network, *channel101.com*, that cuts the Hollywood establishment out of the decision-making loop. The rules are simple: would-be TV producers make five-minute shows that are aired once a month at a West Hollywood bar, where a live audience votes on which ones should be put online and which pulled off.

Three years after it began, their channel is attracting some of the most creative people in

## ► ROB SCHRAB & DAN HARMON



JOHN TANZER

## THE NETWORKS

the business. Agents regularly scour it—and its offspring in New York City, *channel102.net*—for new talent. Two *Saturday Night Live* writers and one featured player were hired this season in part for their work on Channel 101.

Since Harmon, 33, and Schrab, 36, don't charge for tickets or sell ads, their site is not a moneymaking venture. But now everybody in Hollywood wants them. They signed a deal with VH1. Fox has contracted them to write a movie. Their film *Monster House* comes out in July. And they were hired as co-creators of Sarah Silverman's upcoming show on Comedy Central, although Harmon was fired after only four episodes.

They don't seem fazed by any of it. "The only reason I want to make money now is to shoot Channel 101 stuff," says Harmon. After all, even Comedy Central has executives. —By Joel Stein

"There's so little on TV that I like that I have to do my own," says Schrab, center, with comedian Sarah Silverman. She fired Harmon, right, shortly after this picture was taken



GREGG SEGAL FOR TIME

## Brought to You by the Rating R

THE  
PUPPET  
MASTERS

The MTV2 series *Wonder Showzen* begins with the theme song *Kids'*

Show and a disclaimer

that the show is not for kids.

Which to believe? Consider the episode that portrays the letter *N* as a shame-filled, slutty drunk. ("Nobody Needs me!" she wails.) Or a segment in which a kid dressed as Pope John Paul II asks

passersby whether he's going to hell.

You might think creators Vernon Chatman and John Lee, both 34, have it in for the shows like *Sesame Street* that they parody. Actually, Chatman says, "*Sesame Street* may be the best TV show ever." Big Bird and friends, they say, developed a rapid-fire, absurdist visual language that lends itself to conceptual comedy and even art.

Some of *Showzen's* humor is gross, some is politically pointed, and plenty is both (e.g., the cartoon "Global Politics in 30 Seconds," in which an animated U.S. urinates on Mexico, eats South America and humps the Middle East). The metajoke of *Wonder Showzen* is the dissonance

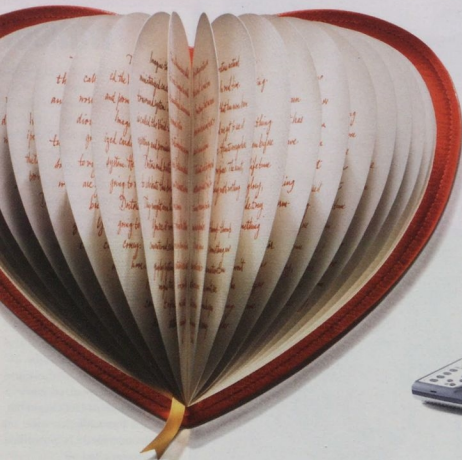
between the message of kids' shows (that the world is friendly and understandable) and everything that is left out (hatred, injustice, random suffering). It's best captured in the man-on-the-street interviews, some done by a sweetly obnoxious blue puppet named Clarence, some by children. (One adorable little girl asks Wall Street workers, "Who did you exploit today?")

Chatman and Lee say the parents of *Showzen's* kids see the scripts and are urged not to let them watch the show. Still, says Lee, "I have a 4-year-old niece who's watched it. A while ago, she saw Kermit the Frog for the first time. She said, 'Look! It's a green Clarence!'" —By James Poniewozik

### WONDER SHOWZEN

*Sesame Street* inspired Chatman, left, and Lee. "Kids' shows allow you to do anything without justifying it," says Chatman





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# Pretty Woman Acts Up

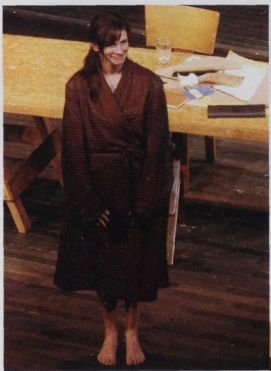
Julia Roberts gets set to debut on Broadway, where the NO VACANCY sign is up and business is booming

By RICHARD ZOGLIN

**T**HEATER CRITICS DON'T GET to act like regular civilians very often, but when it comes to Julia Roberts, extraordinary measures are called for. The Hollywood star has prompted major buzz—and sellout crowds—for her impending Broadway debut, in Richard Greenberg's play *Three Days of Rain*, opening officially on April 19. So I wandered down to the Bernard B. Jacobs Theater to see just how tough it is to land a ticket. Very tough, I learned: only a stray seat in the back row or way off to the side, even for performances weeks away. Unless you're willing to indulge in a relatively new Broadway pastime: the "premium" seat.

Most of the hot Broadway shows now offer an unspecified number of unsold house seats (those prime orchestra seats reserved for VIPs like... well, theater critics) for what would once have seemed exorbitant prices. The cost of seeing Ms. Roberts without straining your neck or bringing your telescope: \$250. Make that \$251.25, counting the \$1.25 "facility fee," intended to help keep up a theater where the seats are still cramped, the ushers surly and you can't bring your drink inside the theater after intermission. And the scalpers used to be *outside* the theater.

Actually, that's part of the point. Premium seats are the theaters' attempt to regain some of the revenue for hot shows that would otherwise be flowing to scalpers and ticket agents. And it's one small reason that Broadway, after years of crying its woes, is enjoying an improbable boom. Box-office grosses in 2005 were up 5% over 2004—and not all of that is due to rising ticket prices. Seats were filled at 80.4% of capacity, the highest rate since 1997. For the past 12 weeks—usually the slow late-winter period—that rose to 84.6%, the highest for any similar stretch in Broadway history. According to last week's box-office figures, no fewer than 10 shows were running at 99% of capacity or higher—this at a time when movie grosses, TV ratings and



JULIA ROBERTS: JACOB GORDON

CD sales are all moving the other way.

The odds against financial success on Broadway may still be long, but that hasn't stopped producers from elbowing one another for space on a street where the NO VACANCY sign has been up all season. The off-Broadway musical *Grey Gardens*—based on the 1975 film documentary about two nutty relatives of Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis and featuring a Tony-worthy performance by Christine Ebersole—might have been the best Broadway musical of the season. Except that it can't move to Broadway, because all the theaters are filled.

What is Broadway doing right? Despite its aging audience, antiquated business model and fusty imperviousness to much of what's happening in popular culture, the Great White Way has done a masterly job of marketing itself to Middle America. Tourists now make up 55% of the Broadway audience, and the influx of out-of-towners has meant hit shows that once would have closed after a successful season or two now rival the Empire State Building as New York City fixtures. *Phantom of the Opera* has

been playing for 18 years; *Beauty and the Beast* for 12; *Rent* for 10. *Les Misérables*, which closed after a 16-year run (third longest in Broadway history), has been gone for just three years—and it's already planning a return engagement in the fall.

Broadway has nurtured new audiences too: the family crowd, with popular and creatively adventurous shows like *The Lion King* and *Wicked*; the rock generation, with jukebox musicals featuring the songs of groups like Abba and the Four Seasons. And, of course, it has used star power to create Big Events. Nathan Lane and Matthew Broderick are hardly names that would set a Hollywood mogul's heart aflutter, but after their smash success in *The Producers* (theater's Big Event of 2001), they made this season's revival of Neil Simon's *The Odd Couple* Broadway's hottest ticket.

Until Julia Roberts. Serious plays have not been left out of the Broadway renaissance (*Doubt*, last year's Tony winner, is still doing a robust business after a year), but only a PEOPLE magazine cover girl like Roberts could have turned a quiet little play about the battle over a family inheritance (which had a little-noticed off-Broadway run in 1997) into a Broadway blockbuster. And good for her; she could be doing *Ocean's 17*.

**FULL HOUSE:** The star takes a curtain call, while Ebersole stays put off-Broadway



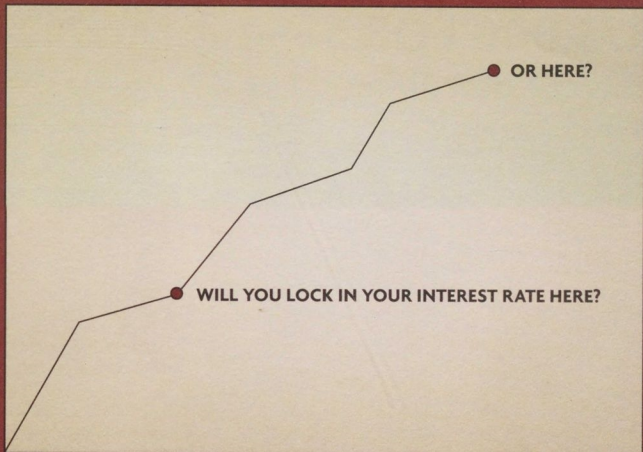
JULIA ROBERTS: JACOB GORDON

So I sprang for that \$250 seat. Critics are forbidden to review a show before its official opening, while the actors and director are presumably still working out the kinks (although it's not too early to charge ordinary theatergoers \$250 for the privilege of watching them practice). I can say, however, that the audience applauded when she came out; the dour role doesn't give her much chance to show off that famous smile; and the pro forma standing ovation for her curtain call at the end seemed a little more pro forma than usual. And for \$250, I want to be able to take my drink back to the seat.

—With reporting by Carolina A. Miranda







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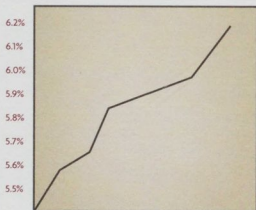
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fourth long day

ILLUSTRATION: JEFFREY M. HARRIS

old. This massive set collects all 51 Peel episodes plus three rare *Avengers*, a making-of film and more. Crisply written and sophisticated, it's a stylish time capsule of the mid-'60s apex of British mod-era style.



#### ALIAS

##### SEASON FOUR

THIS FAMILY drama cum spy series from J.J. Abrams (*Lost*) ends this

spring after five years. But it seems longer, given how often the show reinvented itself, changing Sydney Bristow (Garner) from a double to a single agent and turning bad guys to good and back. In the penultimate season, Bristow discovers the secrets of a long-lost sister and untangles a plot involving—oh, I have only a paragraph? Then let's just say that, for all its wild twists, *Alias* is emotionally grounded by A+ actors like Victor Garber (as Sydney's caring but ruthless dad), Ron Rifkin (as her oily boss turned nemesis turned boss) and Garner, whose tough, empathetic vulnerability puts the act in action.

the assassination of the head of the British military, allowing rivals in the government to launch a political takeover of the MI-5 security service. In many ways, it resembles *24*—the subterfuge, the personal entanglements, the willingness to kill major characters—but *MI-5* is less pyrotechnic and more cerebral. The good guys harbor doubts and make grievous mistakes, and the series offers no easy moral answers. In the war against terrorism, *MI-5* understands, uncertainty is the scariest thing of all.



#### ▲ SHE SPIES THE COMPLETE FIRST SEASON

IN THE PILOT OF this espionage spoof, a trio of comely ex-felons

(led by *Species*' Natasha Henstridge) is assigned to guard a politician about to tape the first episode of a talk show. "The first one's always a cheat," says team member D.D. (Kristen Miller). "The rest of the series is never as good." No such problem here. Loaded with sharp, fourth-wall-breaking humor, this show lampoons both serious spy serials and the vaunted babes-kicking-butt-in syndication genre. The storytelling won't tax your brain (in one episode, a villain is helpfully labeled Evil Doctor by the onscreen graphics), but this is smart dumb entertainment at its best. —By James Poniewozik

# 5 TV SPIES TO LOVE ON DVD

From dead serious to dead-on parody, these serials' intelligence is not covert



#### 24 SEASON FOUR

IF THERE WAS ever a show made to be watched on DVD, it's this

one. Experiencing *24*'s twists and turns all at once makes it easier to sustain the real-time rush (and to notice those convenient jumps between episodes, in which characters make it crosstown in L.A. traffic in five minutes). Season 4 was even more of an implausible thrill ride than usual. But it was the series' best season for raw acting performances, especially Shohreh Aghdashloo's as the hard-bitten-but-sympathetic matriarch of a sleeper-cell family. As agent Jack Bauer, Kiefer Sutherland is a grimly expressive study as he realizes that doing his ugly duty may cost him his public face and the woman he loves—and yet does it anyway.



#### ▼ THE AVENGERS THE COMPLETE EMMA PEEL MEGASET

LONG BEFORE

*Alias* Jennifer Garner traveled the world's nightclubs undercover and barely covered, Diana Rigg donned the catsuit of justice as superhero, supercool British spook Emma Peel. The plots seem frothy in retrospect—in one, an alien artichoke threatens mankind. But the quick-witted, flirty interplay between Mrs. Peel and bowler-hatted John Steed (Patrick Macnee) never gets



#### MI-5

##### VOLUME THREE

IN THIS DARK, tense, terrifically grownup British spy series, the

wiliest enemies are often on the same side as the good guys. As the third season opens, British agent Tom Quinn (the steely Matthew Macfadyen) has been set up in





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# HOW IOWA GOT THE MUMPS

By CHRISTINE GORMAN

THE LARGEST OUTBREAK OF MUMPS TO HIT THE U.S. in nearly 20 years has epidemiologists scratching their heads. After all, the illness, with its characteristic inflamed salivary glands and swollen throat, is relatively rare in North America, thanks to the widespread availability of a childhood vaccine against measles, mumps and rubella (the so-called MMR shot).

Nobody was too alarmed in December when the first few cases were reported to Iowa's health officials; the state has been averaging about five cases of mumps a year, so the numbers weren't out of line. By last week, however, the total of known and suspected cases had jumped to 365, and the disease seemed to be spreading to nearby states. Illinois and Kansas have reported spikes in mumps

infections. And although the outbreak appears to have started in college-age adults, the latest information shows that mumps is now striking people ages 2 to 80.

What's really puzzling about the Iowa outbreak is that most of the victims seem to have been fully vaccinated. Among those whose medical history has been confirmed, two-thirds got both of the required doses of MMR.

So what gives? There are several possibilities. Doctors know that about 5% of the people who get vaccinated against mumps don't get protected because their immune

system, for some reason, doesn't respond. Or perhaps their protection has weakened over the years, or maybe the vaccine is not as effective as it should have been. To sort all that out, investigators from Iowa

## A mysterious outbreak is spreading to other states

and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention are studying residents who became ill as well as those who were exposed to the virus but didn't get sick. Another possibility the

investigators are sure to explore is whether there is any link between the Iowa outbreak and an ongoing epidemic of mumps that sickened at least 43,322 people in England and Wales last year. (The British outbreak, in turn, may be tied to a 1994 campaign to vaccinate older children that focused on measles and rubella but was unable, for complicated reasons, to include a mumps shot.) The viruses responsible for the British and American outbreaks have similar genetic makeup, but further testing will be required to determine whether they are related.

Fortunately, mumps doesn't usually cause problems beyond swelling and misery that last about five days. Even so, doctors watch for signs of meningitis or, in young men, a testicular inflammation that could theoretically lead to infertility.

College students may be at particular risk because they live in such close quarters and are more likely to exchange saliva. Nancy Anderson, director of the Long-brake Student Wellness Center at the College of Wooster in Ohio, advises students to wash their hands regularly and avoid going out if they get sick. Wooster also

**720%**  
Percentage increase in Iowa mumps cases; a normal year averages five

requires incoming students to have received both doses of MMR vaccine.

But as the Iowa outbreak reminds us, the mumps vaccine is not 100% effective. That's why you have to stay alert in an outbreak, even if you've been inoculated.

—With reporting by Jumana Farouky/London



JEREMY PORTER—UNIQUE TELEGRAPH HERALD/OWN

### MEASLES, MUMPS AND RUBELLA

Measles killed **450,000** people around the world in 2004. In the U.S., only about **100** children get measles each year

Before vaccines, as many as **200,000** children got mumps each year in the U.S.—most commonly in winter or spring. Now the average is **265**

There were **nine** cases of rubella in the U.S. in 2004. The virus blinded or deafened **15,000** newborns in 1964



## BATHROOM

Conventional bathroom cleansers contain ammonia and chlorine, which can be dangerous in confined or unventilated spaces. Use **nontoxic products** whenever possible. Or make your own: baking soda and vinegar proves a surprisingly effective toilet-bowl cleanser.

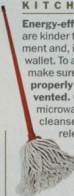
## LIVING ROOM

The glue, paints, varnishes and waxes used in conventional furniture can release the volatile organic compounds (VOCs) that affect indoor air quality. Look for **organic or certified chemical-free sofa**.



## KITCHEN

**Energy-efficient appliances** are kinder to both the environment and, in the long run, the wallet. To avoid noxious fumes, make sure your gas range is **properly installed and vented**. Clean stove tops and microwaves with nontoxic cleansers that won't release fumes when heated. Carefully clean countertops where food will be prepared.



## THE GREEN HOME

With spring in the air and Earth Day approaching, those looking to add an eco-friendly edge to the annual spring-cleaning ritual can turn to a wide range of sources on- and off-line: *bp.com* will help you reduce your carbon footprint; *organicgardening.com* shows how to plant a pesticide-free garden; *treehugger.com* celebrates sustainable design. One of the newest resources is *The Healthy Home Workbook* (\$24.95) by Kimberly Rider, which offers a room-by-room checklist of ways to rid your home of common allergens and toxins. —By Lisa McLaughlin



## BEDROOM

Conventional sheets are often treated with formaldehyde to get a wrinkle-free finish. For a chemical-free slumber, look for **natural or organic bedding**. Faribault Mills, for example, offers hypo-allergenic **Ingeo bedding** that is made from corn-based fibers.



## THROUGHOUT THE HOUSE

Paint can contribute to poor indoor-air quality long after it dries. Petroleum-based paints are a source of VOCs. Look for **low- or zero-VOC paints** or old-fashioned milk paints when trying to add some color to your house. **Full-spectrum lightbulbs** simulate natural daylight and last longer than conventional bulbs.



## OUTSIDE

**Overhangs or vegetation** near windows provides shade and reduces summer heat, winter cold and energy costs. Planting **native shrubs or other vegetation** instead of lawns saves water and reduces the need for pesticides. **Gray-water systems** recycle water from baths and washing machines for outdoor uses.





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# Want Good Press? Here's the Tab

**NEW YORK POST**

**Page Six**

Did a gossip reporter put a price on positive coverage? The feds probe a billionaire's claim

## SEEN SCHMOOZING

in a pricey Tribeca loft: supermarket magnate **Ron Burkle**, whom the New York *Post's* gossip column Page Six has called a "party-boy billionaire," and Page Six contributor **Jared Paul Stern**. Also present, but unknown to Stern: an FBI agent and a video camera. They were there to record what Burkle—who had chafed at uncomplimentary and, he thought, untrue items about him in the column—believed was a \$220,000 shakedown for kid-glove coverage. The FBI believed it too: the agency has launched a probe into extortion allegations.

Already this is fun. But it gets better. The story was broken by the *Daily News*, locked for decades in a fratricidal tabloid war with the *Post*. The scoop gave *News* owner **Mort Zuckerman** delicious revenge against *Post* owner **Rupert Murdoch**.

The *Post*, which is cooperating with the FBI, has suspended Stern, meanwhile noting that he was only a part-time underling of Page Six editor **Richard Johnson**.

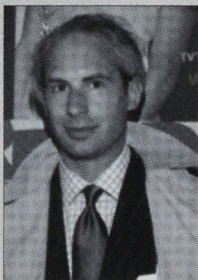
Page Six, a column so attentive to veracity that it usually runs on page 12, is the *Brangelina* of the tattle trade. For gossipists, *journalistic ethics* can be an oxymoron. Many have accepted meals,

quotes are "snippets taken out of context." He does admit to meeting with Burkle twice and to asking for money. ("Um, \$100,000 to get going and month to month, \$10,000.") But he denies it was extortion.

"The money that was talked about was as an investment in my clothing company," Stern told TIME, "and as a fee for consulting on a media strategy, not specifically just the *Post*."

would fill that role—and part of his job would be to keep Burkle's name out of the column he wrote for. A simple business proposition: You scratch my back, I won't scratch your eyes out.

Burkle spokesman **Michael Sitrick** insists that "the tapes show that Mr. Burkle made it very clear he had no interest" in any business deal with Stern. Stern's lawyer, **Edward**



**MEN ABOUT TOWN:** Clockwise from above: Ronald Burkle, the mogul; Richard Johnson, the *Post's* Page Six editor; Jared Paul Stern, the Page Six contributor Burkle has accused of extortion

jewelry and plane trips from folks hoping for a kind word. And the items they run are not always the truth, not even truthiness. More like speculative fiction—**Proust** for the prurient.

But six figures for a power figure to buy a gossipist's favor? That would be a new wrinkle that, if made public, would be hard to Botox. Stern, who has not seen the tape, avers that the incriminating

That is superficially plausible. Burkle had invested \$100 million in the Sean John clothing line fronted by **Sean (Puffy [P. Diddy (Diddy)]) Combs** and might—just might—have been interested in Stern's fledgling Skoll & Bones brand. Stern also claims that Burkle, a jet-setter (he owns a Boeing 757, which pal **Bill Clinton** dubbed Ron Air), has no media "structure" to run interference. Stern

**Hayes**, says Burkle has "gotten some pretty good revenge on Page Six. Hopefully it will just be dropped there."

But the two men are certainly, from now on, an item, twinned in tabloid scandal. If there's anything lovelier than reading the dirt in Page Six, it's reading the dirt about Page Six.

—Reported by **Sean Gregory** and **Alice Park**/New York and **Jeffrey Resner**/Los Angeles

GOSSIP! SCANDAL! AT THE HOME OF GOSSIP AND SCANDAL



Charles Krauthammer

# Liberty, Equality, Mediocrity

The strangest revolution the French have ever produced

**T**HE FRENCH ARE JUSTLY PROUD OF THEIR REVOLUTIONARY tradition. After all, 1789 begat 1848 and 1871 and indeed inspired just about every revolution for a century, up to and including the Russian Revolution of 1917. Say what you will about the outcomes, but the origins were quite glorious: defiant, courageous, bloody, romantic uprisings against all that was fixed and immovable and oppressive: kings, czars, churches, oligarchies, tyrannies of every kind.

And now, in a new act of revolutionary creativity, the French are at it again. Millions of young people and trade unionists, joined by some underclass opportunists looking for a good night out, have taken to the streets again. To rise up against what? In massive protest against a law that would allow employers to fire an employee less than 26 years old in the first two years of his contract.

That's a very long way from liberty, equality, fraternity. The spirit of this revolution is embodied most perfectly in the slogan on many placards: *CONTRE LA PRÉCARIÉTÉ*, or "Against Precariousness." The precariousness of being subject to being fired. The precariousness of the untenured life, even if the work is boring and the boss no longer wants you. And ultimately, the precariousness of life itself, any weakening of the government guarantee of safety, conformity, regularity.

That is something very new. And it is not just a long way from the ideals of 1789. It is the very antithesis. It represents an escape from freedom, a demand for an arbitrary powerful state in whose bosom you can settle for life.

Nor are the current riots about equality. On the contrary. Their effect would be to enforce inequality. The unemployment rate in France is 10%. For young people under 26 it is 23%, and almost 1 in 10 kids who leave high school don't have a job five years after taking the baccalaureate. Much of that unemployment encompasses those of the alienated immigrant underclass, who are less educated, less acculturated and less likely ever to be hired than the mostly native student rioters. And these young rioters want to keep things just that way—to rely not just on their advantages of class, education and ethnicity but also on an absolute guarantee from the state that their very first job will be for life, with no one to challenge them for it.

Ironically, the better imitation of the spirit of 1789 came from precisely those immigrant challengers kept locked away in France's satellite suburbs. It is those poor ambitious huddled masses who late last year lit up the country for three weeks with nights of burning cars. Those underclass riots were politically inchoate, but they did represent the fury of people desperate to escape the marginality imposed on them by their ethnicity and the rigidity of the French bureaucratic state. Those immigrant riots, which had an equal touch of the existential anarchy of the student revolution of 1968, were, if anything, a revolt for precariousness—for risk, danger, upheaval.

MICHAEL HEALY/REUTERS



**NO RISK TAKING:** Youth and unionists protest at Paris' Triumph of the Republic

Against precariousness? The vibrancy of a society can almost be measured by its precariousness. Free markets correlate not just with prosperity and wealth but also with dynamism. The classic example is China today, an economic and social Wild West with entire classes, regions, families and individuals rising and falling in ways that must terrify today's young demonstrators in Paris. In France not a single enter-

prise founded in the past 40 years has managed to break into the ranks of the nation's 25 biggest companies.

Precariousness is an essential element in the life of the entrepreneur, a French word now more associated with the much despised Anglo-Saxon "liberalism" and its merciless dog-eat-dog capitalism. But these days the best examples of the entrepreneurial spirit are hardly Anglo-Saxon: China, India, Korea, Chile, all rising and growing, even as France and much of Europe decline.

Against precariousness? That is perhaps to be expected in a country where 76% of 15-to-30-year-olds say they aspire to civil service jobs from which it's almost impossible to be fired. This flight from risk is not just a sign of civilizational senescence. It is a parody of the welfare state. Yes, the old should be protected from precariousness because they are exhausted; the sick, because they are too weak. But privileged students under the age of 26? They cannot endure 24 months of precariousness at the prime of life, the height of their energy?

There have, I suppose, been other peoples in other places who yearned for a life of mediocrity. But leave it to the French to make a revolution in its name. ■

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